FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 088 *7 May 1981*

BULGARIA

Council of Ministers Reprimands Deputy Ministers C 1
Daily Interviews RCP Secretary Iosif Banc C 1
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 30 Apr]
BTA Says 'Provisional' Talks With USSR Not Enough C 3
Aviation Cooperation Accord Signed With SRV C 4
Currency Exchange Rate for Tourists Improved C 4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Sejm Decisions of 6 May Called 'Concession' D 1
May Day Festivities in Poland Well Attended D 1
[Lipavsky in Bratislava PRAVDA 4 May]
Foreign Nationals With Antistate Material Detained D 2
Leaders Receive Hungarian Interior Minister D 2
[RUDE PRAVO 30 Apr]
Trade Minister Departs for Libya for Talks D 3
Officials Attend Liberation Anniversary Evening D 3
Gas Delivery Cuts Cause Problems to Slovak Works D 3
[Krska in Bratislava PRAVDA 5 May]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Communique on NATO's Rome Meeting Analyzed E 1
Israeli CP Delegation Pays Visit to Berlin E 2
Talks With Kirchhoff E 2
Received by Mueckenberger E 2
Committee for Cooperation With Japan Founded E 2
FRG Returns Marx-Engels Bridge Sculptures E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Apr]
Mierendorff Gang 'Agent' Sentenced to 10 Years E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Apr]
Foreign Delegate Speeches to 10th SED Congress E 3
Kampuchea's Chea Sim [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Apr] E 3
Laos' Phoumi Vongvichit [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Apr] E 5
'Arafat Thanks Honecker for Reelection Greetings E 7
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Apr]
Briefs: Zambian Sports Minister; Delegation in Philippines E 7

HUNGARY

Chnoupek Talks Reveal 'Complete Identity of Views' F 1
U.S. 'Forced To Give In' on Upcoming NATO Talks F 1
Achievements, Prospects in Petroleum Exploration F 2
[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Apr]

POLAND

Kania Attends Plock Combine's Party Conference G 1
Kania Addresses Meeting G 1
Total Personnel Change Scored G 2
Delegate, Resolution Approved G 3
Waszczuk Attends Print Industry Meeting in Warsaw G 3
Jaruzelski Addresses 10th Party Plenum 29 April G 3
[TRYBUNA LUDU 1-3 May]
Jagielski Speaks at 10th Central Committee Plenum G 6
[TRYBUNA LUDU 4 May]
Sejm Approves Farmers' TU Registration, TU Bills [AFP] G 9
'Text' of Three TU Bills G 9
Vice Minister Views Judges' Self-Government G 10
Government, Solidarity Agreement on Media Reported G 11
On Particular Issues G 11
More Details G 12
Official Talks With Local Solidarity Groups Held G 13
Forestry Ministry Talks G 13
Nowy Sacz Talks Continue G 13
Walesa on Unsatisfactory Government Changes [AFP] G 13
Press Articles Discuss Solidarity Theses G 14
Summary of Articles G 14
TRYBUNA LUDU: Strike 'Logic' G 15
Branch Trade Unionist Explains Ostrowiec Conflict G 15
[TRYBUNA LUDU 4 May]
ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE Blames Credit Policy for Ills G 17
Jagielski Chairs Economic Committee Meeting G 17
Education Minister, University Deans Meet 5 May G 18
Economic Proposals, Agreement With USSR Discussed G 18
[GLOS PRACY]
Soviet Weekly Urges: 'Turn Flow of Events' G 19
[Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA]
TRYBUNA LUDU Analyzes Western Attitudes to Nation G 19
RFE Called 'Propaganda Mouthpiece' for KOR G 20
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI]
Joint Mongolian Economic Session Ends 27 April G 20
[TRYBUNA LUDU 28 Apr]
Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With Nigeria G 21
Japanese DSP Delegation Arrives in Warsaw G 21
Visit to Gdansk [Tokyo KYODO] G 21
Solidarity Requests Support G 21
[Tokyo KYODO]

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA Article Marks Tito's Death Anniversary H 1
Ceausescu Meets With PASOK's Papandreou 6 May H 2
Netherlands Finance Minister on Official Visit H 3
Meeting With Gigea H 3
Meeting With Duma H 3

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY Central Committee Meets; Mojsov Gives Report I 1
Serbian LC Central Committee Holds Plenary Session I 1
Galovic Report Received I 1
Vlaskalic Speech I 3
Other Proceedings Reported I 14
Markovic Speech I 23
Bakali Resigns I 28
Galovic Concluding Speech I 28
More on Dragosavac Speech at Kosovo LC Plenum I 28
Waldheim Arrives in Belgrade, Met by Vrhovec I 31
Information Agreement Signed With Algeria I 31
Mijatovic Chairs National Defense Council Session I 31
Planinc Views Conflicts Between Nationalities I 32
Railroad Accident Kills 15 Workers in Kosovo I 32
Macedonia's Ramadani Urges Unity, Development I 33
Briefs: More on National Census; More on Kosovo Census I 33

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REPRIMANDS DEPUTY MINISTERS

AU061850 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] The Council of Ministers has discussed the results of an audit of the utilization of material resources in the national economy. It was established that planning and financial discipline in certain economic organizations and enterprises were grossly violated and substantial quantities of raw and processed materials have been concealed for the purpose of building up reserves.

The greatest violations were established in the economic organizations and enterprises attached to the system of the Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Transportation and of the National Agro-Industrial Union.

The Council of Ministers adopted concrete measures to improve work and decided to hold responsible those guilty.

The Council of Ministers singled out the leaderships of the Ministry of Machine Building, the Ministry of Transportation and the National Agro-Industrial Union and reprimanded Ivan Delchev, deputy minister of machine building; Vulko Vulkov, deputy minister of transportation, and Svetozar Georgiev, deputy chairman of the national Agro-Industrial Union Central Council Executive Committee for allowing violations to occur in reporting quantities of raw and processed materials, fuels and spare parts.

Ministries and other departments have been obliged to audit until the end of July 1981 all economic organizations and units and report on the quantities of raw and processed materials. The results will be discused at collegium and economic council sessions and punishments will be imposed on officials guilty of allowing concealment of material resources.

The State Planning Committee and the ministries involved in drawing up material balances must proportionally reduce the supplies to departments of raw and processed materials to correspond to the amounts that have been concealed and not reported.

DAILY INTERVIEWS RCP SECRETARY IOSIF BANC

AU061000 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Apr 81 p 4

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO "representative's" interview with Iosif Banc, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, Central Committee secretary and leader of the RCP delegation to the 12th BCP Congress--date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Comrade Banc, the relations between the BCP and RCP are a firm basis for developing relations between our neighboring fraternal peoples. In your opinion, how is the further cooperation to continue and strengthen the unity between the two parties and countries?

Answer: The relations between the two parties really are the decisive factor of the constant and comprehensive development of Romanian-Bulgarian friendship and cooperation. We are convinced that in the spirit of the rich traditions of relations of solidarity between the progressive and revolutonary forces, and between our countries' communist parties, the Romanian-Bulgarian relations of comprehensive cooperation will further mark a constant and ascending development. The agreements between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and the joint documents signed at the highest level which determine the basis of expanding and strengthening our relations in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other spheres, are a guarantee of this.

Economic relations, which are a lasting material basis of the comprehensive Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation, are also developing dynamically. Expanding the higher forms of cooperation is characteristic of the ascending line of our relations' development.

As is known, through production sharing our countries are constructing the Giurgiu-Ruse heavy machine-building plant, the Turnu-Magurele-Nikopol hydraulic complex and other things of significance for our national economies.

There is no doubt that implementation of the plans on socio-economic development, adopted by the 12th RCP and 12th BCP Congresses, and the increase of our countries' national wealth as well as their spiritual development, ensure one of the most favorable preconditions for the increasing development and fruitful cooperation between the two fraternal peoples. This is in accordance with their interests and socialism, in the interest of the policy of good neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans, and the cause of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world.

Question: Would you please share your impressions of the 12th BCP Congress?

Answer: Following with great attention the report of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the work of the 12th BCP Congress, I was pleasantly impressed by the rich balance of the achievements of the industrious Bulgarian people in the spheres of developing production capacities, science, culture and the entire activity for implementing the program on building the developed socialist society. The decisions of the congress, which is an event of historic significance in the life of the party and the entire Bulgarian people, mark a broad program for the next stage of the country's development, for elevating to a new stage the entire activity devoted to building the socialist society, and for constantly increasing the working people's living standards, material and spiritual.

Question: The decisions of the 12th RCP Congress are the main landmark for the Romanian working people. How is their implementation affecting the development of Socialist Romania?

Answer: Our people are devoting all their forces to practically implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions, which worked out the tasks for the second stage of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's transition to communism. The most important tasks in this new stage are to further develop production capacities at a fast pace and on the basis of firmly consolidating the scientific-technical revolution, to conduct a new agrarian revolution, to cause a dynamic upsurge in science, education and culture, and to increase the general level of the people's well-being. Acting in close unity with the party and Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the workers' class, peasants, intelligentsia and our entire people successfully completed the 1976-80 plan period and marked significant successes in implementing the plan of the first year of the new 5-year plan period. This is a guarantee of fully implementing the congress' decisions. Thus Romania will leave the position of a developing country and join the ranks of countries with average economic development. Romania will also complete a stage of supreme significance in developing the party program. Simultaneously, a permanent task of our party is to constantly improve social management and organization, strengthen socialist democracy and expand the participation of the working people in working out and implementing the decisions in social management. Selflessly implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions, our people are aware that their achievements, as well as the achievements of all peoples building the new system, are a contribution of supreme significance to consolidating the supremacy of socialism and to the general cause of understanding and cooperation among peoples, as well as a contribution to the cause of world progress and peace.

BTA SAYS 'PROVISIONAL' TALKS WITH USSR NOT ENOUGH

AU061004 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 6 May 81

[BTA news analyst T. Stoyanov commentary: "Provisional on Negotiations, Firmly on Rockets"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 6 May (BTA)--The word 'negotiations', unloved in the aggressive U.S. circles, was pronounced in Rome by Alexander Haig--a man of great contribution to the militant Republican rhetorics fund.

The White House has to agree that negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms control can lead only to fruitful results. The "Eurorocket" dialogue was accepted under the pressure of the West European public opinion mirrored in the position of the ruling circles in the West European capitals.

The negotiations' lines have been fixed in the communique of the NATO spring session due to Washington's fears to get an eventually negative position of its allies on the "Cruise" and "Pershing-2" missile deployment, fears brought along by Mr Haig at his state secretary debut in the meeting in Rome.

The NATO Council approved a formula of negotiations with the Soviet Union by the end of the year after a preliminary discussion and under certain terms. This formula, veiled in vagueness and burdened with unrealistic demands, is still far from the clear stand spelt out by Moscow for an immediate start of the negotiations without any preliminary terms.

Provisionally on the negotiations and firmly on rocket deployment--this is how the essence of the NATO session's communique could be synthesized. And it is not difficult to sense behind such a formulation Washington's pressure on its Atlantic allies.

Rejecting the Soviet-proposed idea of a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe, the Atlantic pact remained in the orbit of arms race, of the 'menace from the East' myth. It remained in the orbit of subjection to Washington theses for military superiority and negotiations from the position of force.

Politics is an art of the possible. Time has proved the illusoriness of the military superiority and political dictatorship idea. Along these lines the West European NATO allies, yielding to U.S. pressure, have remained prisoners of unrealistic theses. Their firm "yes" to rockets and provisions-burdened agreement to a dialogue will push them on the road of a new arms race. Actual armament and a symbolic move for negotiations will mean a struggle for new ceilings in arms-making--a prospectless course.

In spite of the strange formula for a dialogue, coloured with ultimatum shades regarding the future partner [phrase as received] there is still a hope that, provided the negotiations will start without the greater-state intoning of the USA, a lower ceiling could be achieved in the equilibrium of forces. This will be of an enormous use both to the East and to the West.

And not only due to reduction of the clash hazards. The United States, provided it thinks realistically, will see that it, as well as any other country, will have economic benefits from curbing the arms race and from the policy of liquidating the explosive situations in the different parts of the world.

The USA will benefit, along with the rest, from everything meant by the concepts of detente and peaceful coexistence.

AVIATION COOPERATION ACCORD SIGNED WITH SRV

OW061521 Hanoi VNA in English 1515 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Hanoi, 6 May (VNA)--An agreement on civil aviation cooperation was signed in Sofia recently between Vietnam and Bulgaria.

The agreement provides for the opening of an air route between Bulgaria and Vietnam by the end of this year.

Signatories were Do Huu Nghia, deputy director of the Vietnam General Department for Civil Aviation, and D. Dimitrov, director general of the Balkan Civil Aviation Company.

CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATE FOR TOURISTS IMPROVED

AU060950 Sofia BTA in English 0856 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Sofia, 6 May (BTA)--With the aim of encouraging the foreign tourist flow to Bulgaria the State Tourism Committee has added an auxiliary 50 percent bonus to the official exchange rates in levs of the basic Western monetary units, including the Yugoslav dinar. This pertains also to all other foreign currency entered in the official bulletin of the Bulgarian National Bank we transmitted yesterday excepting the socialist countries' currencies.

The tourists from the socialist countries exchange their currency by non-commercial payment rates unchanged since March, 1975. To 100 monetary units of the socialist currencies correspond the following exchange rates in levs: Albanian leks--9.30 levs, Vietnamese dongs--40.63 levs, GDR marks--27.50 leks, Korean wons--54.17 levs, Cuban pesos--79.20 levs, Mongolian tughriks--21.05 levs, Polish zloty--4.56 levs, Romanian leis--29.40 levs, Soviet rubles--90.00 levs, Hungarian forints--5.96 levs and Czechoslovak Korunas--8.80 levs.

SEJM DECISIONS OF 6 MAY CALLED 'CONCESSION'

LD061444 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 6 May 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic held a session in Warsaw today. It approved a government bill on a trade union for private farmers which permits the registration of Walesa's trade union organization of private farmers.

The registration of Walesa's rural trade union is a further concession by the Polish authorities in reaction to pressure by Walesa's trade unions, which for a number of months have been waging an intensive campaign to legalize this organization. It is the desire of Walesa's trade unions that this organization act as a political force in Poland's rural areas.

Only 3 months ago Poland's Supreme Court rejected the registration of Walesa's rural trade union with the explanation that farmers are the owners of the land, do not work for wages, and therefore do not meet the conditions for registration as a trade union. Walesa's trade unions have forced the recognition of Walesa's rural trade union through a number of provocative actions, such as the occupation of public building in Bydgoszcz and Wroclaw, threats of strikes and ultimatums to the government.

The Sejm also approved a bill on registering the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations and a bill on registering inter-trade union organizations. The laws are temporary and remain in effect until the bill on trade unions and other legal documents are approved.

MAY DAY FESTIVITIES IN POLAND WELL ATTENDED

AU060904 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 May 81 p 4

[Jan Lipavsky Warsaw dispatch in the column "May Day Rallies in the World; All Progressive Mankind Celebrated Labor Day"]

[Text] Warsaw--By 0800 it had become clear at the Warsaw meeting places that the appeal by the party leadership and the PZPR's city organization would not go unheeded. On the other hand, it was clear that "Solidarity's" appeal, which "did not recommend" its members taking part in the labor day celebrations, had fallen flat. Regardless of the considerably cold weather, sections of plants and other working places collectively marched onto the marshalling ground from various parts of Warsaw. As time passed, it became merely a question of whether the tens of thousands of people could be all squeezed into the new route of the march which led to Victory Square, the place of prewar worker rallies.

At 1000, after the national anthem and the Internationale, the May Day march set out on its course. It was headed by prominent representatives of the party, government and State Council of the Polish People's Republic, Comrades S. Kania, W. Jaruzelski and H. Jablonski, as well as by the other Politburo, government and State Council members and, together with them, the veterans of the Polish revolutionary and workers movement and the veterans of World War II.

Such workers' city districts like Wola, Ochota or Praga carried slogan signs saying: "We Want To Work in Peace!" and "We Support the Forces of Order and Discipline!" During the more than 2-hour march, they carried red banners and placards declaring "We Are Loyal to the Worker Tradition!" "Socialism--Poland's Future;" and slogans expressing support for W. Jaruzelski's government. In a dignified way and at the same time in high spirits, with the accompaniment of youth and military orchestras, the Warsaw people proceeded toward Victory Square and to the tomb of the unknown soldier, where the individual delegations of the front of national unity laid flowers.

Later they also laid flowers at the monument of Warsaw's heroes on Theater Square.

An attempt was made by "Solidarity" to disrupt the calm and dignified atmosphere of the May Day parade in Warsaw. In many places in the capital, members of Walesa's trade unions pasted over the official May Day posters with their own posters, which carried a purely provocative text not sanctioned by the authorities. At the monument of Warsaw's heroes, a small group of provocateurs erected a placard demanding the "Liberation of Political Prisoners." On the premises of the Warsaw "Solidarity" headquarters another provocative slogan hangs also demanding the release of inveterate antisocialist elements from the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland, such as Leszek Moczulski and others. The provocation at the monument of Warsaw's heroes evoked indignant protest among the participants in the parade. After a brief and very sharp exchange of opinions, the provocateurs were forced to leave the square.

FOREIGN NATIONALS WITH ANTISTATE MATERIAL DETAINED

LD061756 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Two foreign nationals were detained by organs of Federal Ministry of Interior during the last few days.

These persons, in cooperation with emigre and ideological-subversive centers, were transporting to Czechoslovakia a large amount of antistate material, tapes and records the contents of which were directed against the socialist social order and were in violation of the Czechoslovak legal code. The written material also contained directives for committing criminal activity in Czechoslovakia. The detained persons were also transporting monetary instruments to be given to people who are carrying out subversive activity in Czechoslovakia.

An investigation was opened on the basis of these facts. The results of the investigation so far show that some Czechoslovak citizens, mainly in Prague, Bratislava and Brno, are taking part in this criminal activity.

The investigation is continuing.

LEADERS RECEIVE HUNGARIAN INTERIOR MINISTER

AU041900 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 81 p 1

[CTK report: "Hungarian People's Republic's Minister Received by L. Strougal"]

[Text] Prague, 29 Apr (CTK)--On Wednesday CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal received in the Hrzan Palace in Prague Istvan Horvath, minister of the interior of the Hungarian People's Republic, who is currently on a visit to the CSSR.

In their talks, the two representatives emphasized that relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary have reached a high level in all areas. At the same time they stressed that it is necessary to seek ways to further intensify comprehensive cooperation and that both sides will continue to create the necessary prerequisites for that in the political, economic and cultural areas, as they have been doing until now.

The reception was attended by CSSR Minister of Interior Jaromir Obzina. Bela Kovacs, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the CSSR, was also present.

Istvan Horvath, interior minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, was received the same day in Bratislava by Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

TRADE MINISTER DEPARTS FOR LIBYA FOR TALKS

LD041322 Prague CTK in English 1143 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Prague, 4 May (CETEKA)--A Czechoslovak delegation led by Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak left for Tripoli on Monday to attend the sixth session of the Czechoslovak-Libyan Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation. The meeting will discuss prospects of further Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation.

OFFICIALS ATTEND LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY EVENING

LD061706 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 5 May 81

[Excerpt] The CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal and Czech Government, the Central Committees of the National Front of Czechoslovakia and of the Czech Socialist Republic held a festive evening at the Smetana Theater in Prague today on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army.

Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, and other members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, Vaclav Hula, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Josef Kempny and Josef Korcak; secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee Mikulas Beno, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Josef Havlin and Jindrich Polednik; members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat Marie Kabrhelova and Oldrich Svestka, and chairman of the Central Auditing and Control Commission of the party Miroslav Capka were present at the festive evening. Also present was Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, together with workers from the embassy, and representatives from other embassies of the socialist countries.

GAS DELIVERY CUTS CAUSE PROBLEMS TO SLOVAK WORKS

AU061245 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 May 81 pp 1, 2

[Jan Krska reportage: "People Eager To Come To Grips With Problems; How the Sered Metallurgists Want To Cope With the Planned Tasks"]

[Excerpt] Sered--Since the very moment that the nickel metallurgical works in Sered started operations in 1963 it had never happened that its working people did not fulfill the plan; instead, just the opposite. It had become a kind of unwritten law that they always produced more than the plan determined. But this year's fulfillment of the planned tasks became more complicated for them this January.

True, it had not been easy to fulfill the tasks in the past, either; however, this year an extraordinary situation exists in the nickel metallurgical works in Sered. This January the deliveries of natural gas to the works were cut. This caused a production shortfall of about 14 percent. In most other enterprises such a 1-month lag behind the plan need not mean an extraordinary situation. In the nickel metallurgical works things are slightly different. It is no simple matter to make up for the delay and to cope with the planned tasks, because, in fact, during the course of the years the maximum capacity of the equipment had already been reached and the plan already counts on this. The tasks are broken down for nonstop operations--so-to-speak, holidays included. Thus the metallurgists cannot come to work for a brigade shift on a Saturday, as is done in other factories, and thus make up for the lag. Both Saturdays and Sundays are normal working days here, with planned production figures.

Repairs Are Calculated in Fractions of Hours

The January shortfall approximately amounts to the monthly production of one reduction furnace.

COMMUNIQUE ON NATO'S ROME MEETING ANALYZED

DW061234 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1545 GMT 5 May 81

[Joachim Mueller telephone dispatch from Rome]

[Text] The two-day spring session of NATO's 15 foreign ministers was wound up this noon in the Italian capital with a final plenary meeting and ensuing press conferences given by the various delegations. On the telephone in Rome is our correspondent Joachim Mueller, who informs about the final communique, which was published in the meantime:

The communique consists of four typewritten pages and is divided into two chapters with a total of 12 sub-points. Some time certainly will be required for a diplomatic-political analysis. An initial journalistic review actually is not very promising. Even if one were to glance over platitudes, patience is put to a severe test till one arrives at what was announced as a "signal sent to the East." It can be found in the last paragraph of point 12 and amounts to just eight and a half lines. I will inform you about it afterwards. But first let me say something about what is said elsewhere.

Hardly anybody will be surprised to hear that NATO set out to defend the freedom of the Western world in full unanimity. Such incantation, after all, belongs to the standard repertoire of the headquarters in Brussels, as much as do the following legends: The East, in particular the Soviet Union, is saddled with all the evils of this world and one of course must be armed against this. For long the question "by what means?" does not produce any guesswork--through military strength, of course, which naturally includes the so-called counterarming with medium-range missiles.

Some 3 and 3/4 pages of the communique are used for argumentation. Nevertheless it has not remained unnoticed in the NATO states as well that the protest movements in Western Europe--be they expressed through spontaneous mass manifestations between the Thames and Tiber Rivers or through organized action reaching even into ruling parties--do not put up with such a simple world outlook. Briefly speaking, the protest movement is against any continuation of the arms race which is becoming more and more dangerous. The search for a way out had been facilitated through the well-known proposals made at the 26th CPSU Congress. Its credo briefly and clearly reads in part: negotiations. And this is the pressure the West European governments, above all, see themselves confronted with.

What was said here in Rome--and I would even say warningly--is "we no longer must leave peace propaganda to the Soviets alone!" Well, and how does one think to take it upon oneself? The Soviet Union, for example, had proposed, and this was not done in a propagandistic but concrete way: Let us break through the eternal vicious circle of the armament spiral, let us agree on a moratorium so as to refrain from stockpiling ever more weapons, that is to say let us freeze the now particularly topical medium-range missiles on their present level. That could advance negotiations on them.

The aforementioned NATO communique says "no" in this respect. But since they were reluctant to return home without any results--I may just remind you of the protest movement--the last lines of the final statement welcome the fact that U.S. Secretary of State Haig here in Rome declared that he would meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko in New York in September on the occasion of the UN General Assembly to discuss modalities and options of forthcoming negotiations into which one proposes to enter by the end of the year.

This, then, is the signal that had been announced. To me its illuminating effect, above all in the aforementioned context, does not seem to be particularly brilliant. Only a detailed analysis will have to weigh it by its details.

What seems to me to be clear even now is that such an approach to the vital questions of our era will hardly convince the protesting masses in Western Europe. In any event, another manifestation has been announced for the evening hours in Rome which probably give the departing NATO foreign ministers the message: We demand genuine steps on the road toward disarmament, without any preconditions. This, if you will, was an initial, public commentary on the NATO Council meeting in Rome concluded today.

ISRAELI CP DELEGATION PAYS VISIT TO BERLIN

Talks With Kirchhoff

AU061028 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Saturday, Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, and other members of the Presidium had a friendly talk with a delegation of the Nazareth City Council, headed by Tawfiq Zayyad, mayor, deputy of the Knesset and Politburo candidate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel. The discussion centered on the current tasks of the GDR socialist people's movement in evaluating the decisions of the 10th SED Congress and the enlarged National Council meeting.

During the exchange of views, the partners in the talk stressed the necessity of a permanent settlement of the Middle East conflict, which is only possible on the basis of Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the guarantee of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and setting up their own independent state, as well as on the basis of recognition of the right to exist of all countries in that region, including Israel.

In this connection they welcomed the Soviet proposal to convene an international conference for settling the Middle East conflict with the participation of all interested sides.

Received by Mueckenberger

LD070720 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 6 May 81

[Excerpt] Berlin, 6 May (ADN)--Erich Mueckenberger, member of the People's Chamber Presidium and of the SED Central Committee Politburo, in Berlin on 6 May received a delegation of the municipal assembly of Nazareth led by Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad. Erich Mueckenberger explained to the delegation, who are visiting the GDR at the invitation of the National Council of the National Front, the work of the People's Chamber and its deputies. Much time was given to the tasks arising from the 10th SED Congress and the preparations for the elections to the People's Chamber and the area assemblies.

Tawfiq Zayyad, candidate member of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and member of the Knesset, spoke of the impressions gained by his delegation in the GDR. He said that they are impressed by the drive of SED members and GDR working people and their performance in implementing with 10th SED Congress decisions.

COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATION WITH JAPAN FOUNDED

AU061222 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 May 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin, (ADN)--On 30 April in Berlin, the "GDR-Japan Committee/Association for Promoting Cultural and Scientific Cooperation" was founded. Karl-Heinz Schulmeister, first secretary of the Cultural League of the GDR, was elected president of the GDR-Japan Committee, which so far comprises 36 GDR institutions and organizations. In his address, Schulmeister said: "The society will aim at manifold activities in order to introduce the GDR to a broad public in Japan. We may proceed from the fact that the GDR population watches with great sympathy the struggles of broad political forces in Japan against mass destruction weapons and war, which convincingly demonstrate the readiness of this people for peace."

FRG RETURNS MARX-ENGELS BRIDGE SCULPTURES

AU061151 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 29 April 1981, in accordance with the proper agreements, six sculptures, part of the Marx-Engels Bridge, were returned from West Berlin to the GDR capital. The return of the remaining two sculptures will take place on 19 May 1981.

During World War II, the sculptures were removed from the bridge and evacuated. Before their being put up on the Marx-Engels Bridge they will be open to view by the general public at the Bode Museum.

MIERENDORFF GANG 'AGENT' SENTENCED TO 10 YEARS

AU061158 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ADN)--On 29 April, the Suhl Bezirk court sentenced Gabor Kovacs, agent of the criminal Mierendorff gang, from Bochum (FRG), to 10 years imprisonment for crimes under sections 105 and 144 of the penal code connected with abuse of the transit agreement. Kovacs actively participated in organizing the unscrupulous abduction of two children from their mother, vested with the right of education, to the FRG. The GDR security organs were able to thwart that plan. The car--a VW Beetle with license plate EN-LK 937--and other objects used for the crime were impounded.

FOREIGN DELEGATE SPEECHES TO 10TH SED CONGRESS

Kampuchea's Chea Sim

AU061120 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Apr 81 p 13

[Speech by Chea Sim, vice president of the Kampuchea National United Front for National Salvation (KNUFNS) at the 10th SED Congress in East Berlin on 13 Apr 1981]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, esteemed delegates:

Permit me first of all on behalf of the KNUFNS, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council [KPRC] and all Kampuchean people, to convey my most cordial greetings and the profoundest feelings of revolutionary fraternity to the highly esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, the comrades in the Presidium and all comrades delegates of the 10th congress of the glorious SED. (strong applause)

Having heard the report of Comrade Erich Honecker, which had profound and creative content, we have gained the conviction that the GDR is an industrialized, powerful and developed country. The numerous social achievements and, above all, the high material and cultural living standard are closely linked. The GDR is a country of the socialist community which has the USSR as a firm bastion, as a pillar for building developed socialism and for waging the struggle of all movements against imperialism, against Beijing's big power hegemonism and against the other reactionary international forces. The GDR people have continued socialist competition and have ensured the fulfillment of the demanding plan targets.

The GDR has proved its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism by actively cooperating with the countries of the great socialist family and with the progressive world in order to find realistic solutions for warding off the dangers confronting mankind, touched off by the unlimited stockpiling of new NATO nuclear weapons, by the intensification of the aggressive machinations of the United States in various regions of the world, and by the expansionist and hegemonist policy of Beijing's leading circles. The GDR struggles passionately against the arms race and for the implementation of detente in the world.

All decisions of the 10th SED Congress guarantee that the people's prosperity will be raised and the GDR's defense capacity will be maintained at the necessary level, and they will contribute toward strengthening the socialist world system and toward the rallying of all forces struggling for peace, independence and social progress.

The People's Republic of Kampuchea welcomes with great pleasure the results of the 26th CPSU Congress and supports the initiatives recently submitted by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the party congress, initiatives that serve the promotion of peace in the world.

Dear comrades and friends, on 7 January the entire Kampuchean people celebrated the 2d anniversary of the victory over the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan regime--lackeys of Beijing's expansionist big power hegemonism.

During the nearly 4 years of its rule, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique destroyed the whole social structure of Kampuchea. Three million of our compatriots perished in atrocious conditions. The conditions of existence of the nation, of the people of Kampuchea, have been destroyed. That is the price of the Maoist experiment in Kampuchea.

However, under the glorious banner of the KNUFNS and the leadership of the KPRC, the Kampuchean people--through great efforts and with the aid of the necessary and effective support of Vietnam, the Soviet Union, the GDR and other fraternal socialist countries, of the peace-loving peoples and various international organizations--have succeeded in overcoming the numerous difficulties (prolonged applause) in reconstructing their dear fatherland: the independent, peaceful, democratic, nonaligned People's Republic of Kampuchea that is advancing on the road to socialism. The people's power is developing at all levels, and guarantees order and security throughout the country.

In their maneuvers against the Kampuchean revolution, in which they are aided by the run-down Pol Pot followers and Beijing, the reactionary forces of Southeast Asia recently adopted a new tactic by persuading Sihanouk and Son Sann to let themselves be used as leaders of the reactionary Khmer in the place of Pol Pot. That is their last card. They are doomed to failure.

In the very near future the entire Kampuchean people will hold general elections to set up a parliament and to strengthen the local power organs.

The revitalization of all sectors in building the People's Republic of Kampuchea during the past 2 years has made clear that the development in Kampuchea is irreversible. (prolonged strong applause)

The only authentic and rightful representative of the Kampuchean people is the KPRC, which must occupy its due place in the United Nations and all other international organizations. (strong applause)

The People's Republic of Kampuchea supports the just struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to win and consolidate their national independence. It respects the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other countries, primarily the neighbor countries.

Faithful to the foreign policy of peace, friendship and international cooperation the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the fraternal countries of Vietnam and Laos have again reaffirmed their good will to establish with the Southeast Asian countries relations that serve the restoration of peace and stability in this region. The proposals of the three countries of Indochina, which were submitted in the declaration on the latest meeting of the foreign ministers of these countries in Ho Chi Minh City, are evidence of that.

Dear comrades and friends, the signing of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between our two countries during the official visit to the GDR of Comrade Heng Samrin has testified to the harmonious development of relations between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the GDR. (prolonged applause)

The KNUFNS, the KPRC, and all Kampuchean people express their deep gratitude toward the SED, the government and people of the GDR, who rendered us support and aid in the just struggle of our people.

May the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between our two peoples grow stronger with each new day! (strong applause) Long live glorious Marxism-Leninism! (stormy applause) Long live the SED! (strong applause) Long live the spirit of firm solidarity of the international proletariat! (Long-lasting, strong applause. The delegates and guests stand up.)

Laos' Phoumi Vongvichit

AU061141 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Apr 81 pp 11-12

[Address of Phoumi Vongvichit, Central Committee Politburo member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, deputy prime minister and minister of education, sports and culture (title as published), at the 10th SED Congress in Berlin on 13 April]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, SED general secretary! Esteemed comrade members of the Presidium! Esteemed comrade delegates! Esteemed comrades! On behalf of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, all Lao communists and the entire Lao people I convey my cordial greetings to the 10th SED Congress. (strong applause) I take this as an opportunity to convey my best greetings to General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker and all comrades of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the party. My fraternal greetings go to all party members and the heroic people of the GDR, who are successfully building developed socialism in their country. (strong applause) I also welcome all the comrade delegates present here.

Esteemed comrades, I have listened enthusiastically to the accountability report of SED General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker. It demonstrates that the courageous and industrious GDR people have well fulfilled their commitments vis-a-vis their party and their fatherland and have achieved outstanding successes in all fields. These successes put the GDR in a position to make an important step forward during the past 5 years in developing its agriculture, building its modern industry, developing science and technology at a higher and higher level, building its strong effective and invincible forces of national defense and in improving the welfare of the people. Moreover, the SED and the GDR people are actively supporting the developing countries and the movements of peoples, struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and justice in the world. This clearly proves their spirit of proletarian internationalism and increases the prestige of the GDR at an international level. (applause)

Everything I have just mentioned proves the significance and the importance of the victories of the SED headed by Erich Honecker; it proves that Marxism-Leninism is being correctly, circumspectly and successfully applied to the concrete situation of the GDR. At the same time they are the victories of the solidarity of the entire GDR people and the victories of the entire socialist community and of all countries which are struggling for peace, national independence and justice in the world. (applause) The Lao People's Revolutionary Party, all Lao communists and the Lao people congratulate you most cordially on these successes, which they also regard as their own victories.

Comrades, after a hard and equally difficult struggle of 30 years the Lao people succeeded under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party headed by Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane in taking power into their own hands and founding the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 2 December 1975. (strong applause] Since then we have reshaped and built anew the economic, cultural and social foundations in implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat and in carrying out three revolutions at the same time, in order to lead our country toward socialism by passing the capitalist development.

The last 5 years have been years of a hard and difficult struggle, for we had to struggle against inclemencies of the weather in 2 successive years, we had to eradicate the remnants of the former regime and we had to continue our fight against the enemy's maneuvers which impaired the advance of the Lao revolution. The difficulties mentioned were so big that it was thought we could not overcome them. But when we gave a record on our achievements on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of our national holiday, we were pleased to state that our work of reshaping and socialist construction showed good results. (strong applause) Despite enormous obstacles and difficulties we were able to strengthen our revolutionary forces to such an extent that national defense became the cause of the entire people. Thus we thwarted all acts of sabotage by the imperialists and the Beijing great power expansionists and hegemonists and were thus able to save and strengthen our young Lao People's Democratic Republic--an outpost of the socialist community in Southeast Asia. (applause)

Our agriculture has developed both in respect of quantity and quality. At the last harvest we were able to bring in more than 1 million tons of paddy rice, more than ever before in the history of our country. Industry, crafts, public education, culture and public health developed fruitfully in the communities and villages, too.

The successes mentioned above are great victories for us. These victories were achieved thanks to the firm solidarity of our people with all ethnic groups which are actively implementing the correct policy of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, thanks to the firm solidarity between the peoples of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea and thanks to the active and effective assistance of the Soviet Union, the GDR, the fraternal socialist countries and the peoples of countries struggling for peace, national independence and justice in the world. (strong applause) We want to take this as an opportunity to express our cordial thanks for the precious assistance which is granted to us by these fraternal countries.

Dear comrades, in future our task will be to defend and build our fatherland by establishing good conditions so that the Lao people, together with all ethnic groups, may participate in this work on a large scale. In implementing this task we will encounter numberous obstacles, for the difficulties I mentioned have not yet been wholly eliminated. However, we are deeply convinced that we will overcome them as we have done in the past. (applause)

We will continue to consolidate the solidarity of our people, to improve the special relations with the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea and to deepen our already unshakable solidarity with the Soviet Union so that we will be successful in implementing our task. We resolutely support the Marxist-Leninist policy which was proclaimed by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress and at the 16th CPCZ Congress--a policy of securing peace, of international detente and cooperation on the basis of equality and honesty in order to guarantee safety for mankind. We support the government of the Polish People's Republic and the PZPR, which are struggling against the interference and the attacks by international imperialists and reactionaries in order to guarantee order and protect socialism in their country.

We support the government and the Cuban Communist Party, which demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the troops of American imperialism from the Guantanamo base, in order to give this territory back to its sole legal owner, the Republic of Cuba. We will strengthen the firm solidarity with the GDR and the other fraternal socialist countries. We will resolutely support the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are struggling for peace, national independence and social progress. (strong applause)

Finally we want to convey our best wishes for the great success of the 10th SED Congress. (applause) We wish the GDR people success in attaining greater successes every day in building developed socialism in their country. We wish Comrade Erich Honecker, who is highly admired by the GDR people and is a great friend of the Lao people, robust health and a long life. (strong applause)

May the fraternal friendship and the militant solidarity between the SED and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, between the people of the GDR and Lao people further strengthen and develop with every day. (strong applause) Long live the SED! Long live peace in the world! Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism! (long-lasting strong applause. The delegates and guests rise from the seats)

'ARAFAT THANKS HONECKER FOR REELECTION GREETINGS

AU061146 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and supreme commander of the armed forces of the Palestine revolution, has sent the following message to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman:

It gives me pleasure to express my great thanks to you for your congratulations on my reelection as chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. Our militant Palestinian Arab people pay very great tribute to the assistance and support which you grant their revolution.

This support demonstrates the principles which your glorious party is pursuing, under your leadership, in the struggle for the right of peoples to freedom, independence and a just peace.

Our Palestinian Arab people, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative the PLO, value their relations with the people, party and government of the GDR as a glorious part of the common struggle against world imperialism and Zionism. Dear comrade, I want to convey our greetings to the comrades of the Central Committee, the government and your outstanding people, and to reaffirm the continuation of the common struggle until victory.

BRIEFS

ZAMBIAN SPORTS MINISTER--Upon invitation of the GDR sports authorities, a delegation of the Ministry for Youth and Sports of the Republic of Zambia is now on a visit in the GDR. The Zambian delegation is headed by Minister Gen Godwin Kingsley Chinkuli. The discussions will center on the development of physical education, bilateral cooperation and questions of international sports. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr 81 p 7 AU]

DELEGATION IN PHILIPPINES--Upon invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of the Philippines, a delegation of the People's Chamber, headed by Herbert Fechner, chairman of the GDR interparliamentary group, stayed in Manila after having participated in the spring session of the Interparliamentary Union. The delegation was received by Rono, minister of local governments and community development; Romulo, minister of foreign affairs; and Villafuerte, minister of trade. The Philippine partners in the talk stressed the necessity of continuing the policy of peaceful coexistence, and showed interest in developing overall relations with the GDR. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 May 81 p 2 AU]

CHNOUPEK TALKS REVEAL 'COMPLETE IDENTITY OF VIEWS'

LD062352 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 6 May 81

["Communique About Chnoupek's Visit"--MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 6 May (MTI)--At the invitation of Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, Bohuslav Chnoupek, foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, paid a friendly visit to Hungary from May 4 to 6. The foreign ministerial meeting took place at north Hungarian Salgotarjan.

The foreign ministers informed each other about the construction work running in Hungary in compliance with the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the HSWP, and the results of the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party respectively. They exchanged views about the current state of Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, the prospects of their development, and about actual international questions. The sides established with content that the cooperation of the two countries relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, on the identity of interests and goals, is developing favourably in a good neighbourly spirit in every area.

They stressed the outstanding import of the fraternal relations of the HSWP and the CCP and of the regular meetings of Janos Kadar and Gustav Husak in further deepening the comradely cooperation of the two countries. The foreign ministers voiced the conviction that planned expansion of the bilateral relations, deepening of cooperation and strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the two peoples comply with the interests of the two countries and largely contribute to the further strengthening of the unity of the socialist community.

The sides confirmed again that they will continue to do their utmost to corroborate the cohesion of the socialist community, to widen the many-sided cooperation under the auspices of the Warsaw Treaty and the CEMA and to promote the realization of the coordinated foreign political objectives.

Frigyes Puja and Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed the importance of the peace proposals put forward at the 26th Congress of the CPSU and expressed the firm conviction that the new Soviet proposals of tremendous significance offer a realistic possibility to restrain the forces of cold war, improve the international atmosphere and the prospects of preserving peace and international security. They hold it necessary that the parties concerned start negotiations without delay, examine and contemplate practical implementation of the proposals.

The sides furthermore expressed the conviction that an agreement will be reached at the running Madrid meeting on the convening of a conference to discuss European military detente and disarmament.

The talks of the two foreign ministers reflected mutual understanding and a complete identity of views on all questions discussed, and went off in a traditionally cordial and comradely atmosphere. Bohuslav Chnoupek invited Frigyes Puja for a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia and the latter accepted the invitation with thanks. Chnoupek left Hungary on Wednesday.

U.S. 'FORCED TO GIVE IN' ON UPCOMING NATO TALKS

LD031758 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 3 May 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 May (MTI)--The Sunday issue of NEPSZABADSAG carries a commentary entitled "Before the NATO Session," dealing with the foreign ministerial session of NATO, to begin on Monday in Rome.

The article states, among other things: "It is well-known that a moratorium has been proposed from Soviet part for the European deployment of medium-range missiles until an agreement on the restriction of these weapons is reached through negotiations. (Naturally, the American nuclear means at the USA bases in Europe are to be included in this.)

"So far NATO has taken a stand against the Soviet proposal, maintaining its earlier, so-called dual decision which referred to the deployment of these missiles and a simultaneous readiness to hold negotiations.

"However, in practice it became apparent that th essence of this resolution is primarily the decision for the deployment of the weapons, which decision is aimed at changing the European military power relations, and it has also become clear that, to say the least, it is not at all urgent for Washington to begin talks. This latter condition was acknowledged with increasing annoyance by several West European allies of the USA."

In the following the commentary in the central paper of the HSWP points out: "After all these it attracted notice that on the eve of the Rome session American Secretary of Defence Weinberger strengthened this dual decision last week, but said: 'The time has come for beginning negotiations.' This remark of Weinberger is evaluated by many to signify that the Reagan government was forced to give in to the urging of its allies, that is that the anti-detente, open confrontation policy has increased the domestic political difficulties of governments in several West European countries. In spite of these signs it cannot be forgotten that the Washington conduct is invariably characterized by the wish to attain military superiority," writes the commentary in the Sunday issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

ACHIEVEMENTS, PROSPECTS IN PETROLEUM EXPLORATION

WA070920 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Apr 81 p 7

[Excerpt] A national conference on geology is being convened today under the auspices of the Central Geological Bureau [Kozponti Foldtani Hivatal] to discuss the status of exploration for minerals. We publish herewith an abridged version of the paper presented on this occasion by Dr Viktor Dank, chief geologist of the OKGT [National Oil and Gas Industry Trust].

According to a resolution of the Council of Ministers, Hungarian petroleum and natural gas exploration was supposed to locate exploitable reserves of hydrocarbons equal in value to 60 million tons of oil between 1970 - 1980. The goal was 30 percent petroleum and 70 percent natural gas. By the end of the Fourth 5-Year Plan, 31.2 million tons had been located; by the end of the Fifth 5-Year plan, better material resources and more intensive exploration located 42.3 million tons. Although these figures seem to surpass the plan, negative findings must be reported also. Of the hydrocarbons located over the past 5 years, only 12 percent are oil while the remaining 88 percent are natural gas. Furthermore, one-quarter of the natural gas contains fewer combustible components, more so-called inert gases, so that it can be used as fuel only at greater cost. (A special program has been set up to make it usable.) Another drawback is that the relatively smaller reserves of petroleum occur in dozens of small deposits which will make exploitation costly. The fact that over the past few years the rate of exploitation exceeds that of discovery of new reserves is unfavorable also. This tendency typifies the projections of the Sixth 5-Year Plan as well. Discovery of 35 million tons of new hydrocarbons as specified is an exceedingly stepped-up plan; yet, discovery is lower than the planned exploitation of 40 million tons. The petroleum industry is attempting to offset this by giving prospecting for oil rather than natural gas a higher priority and by intensifying use of secondary and tertiary methods of production, which increase the accessible supplies.

The estimate of potential industrial supply is 23 percent for petroleum and 77 percent for natural gas. So far we have exploited 23 percent of our hydrocarbon resources; 28 percent of these constitute the basis of domestic production in the form of industrial supplies; discovering an additional 49 percent will be our future task. Generally speaking, we can say that the volume of anticipated discoveries of petroleum will be somewhat less than that which has already been recovered; for natural gas, it is about triple of that already recovered. According to the currently valid prognosis, twice the amount of hydrocarbons already recovered remains to be discovered.

We have every reason to hope that we will find new reserves through use of new exploration techniques. We are pinning our greatest hopes on the Bekes, the Szeged Basin, the region between the Danube and Tisza rivers, the Koros-Berettyo region and Zala-Drava Basin.

The task during this plan period is to discover new industrial supplies of hydrocarbons equivalent in value to 35 million tons of petroleum. Insofar as geological, geophysical and geochemical activity is concerned, we must learn everything possible about the formation, accumulation and movement of hydrocarbons to make our exploration fruitful. The primary task of the geologists is to increase their knowledge by using new devices and new methods. This includes use of geological models, especially geological models for hydrocarbons. Since there is a lack of capable specialists we must resort to distribution of labor. The discontinuation of the former system of separate industrial branches will be helpful in this regard.

KANIA ATTENDS PLOCK COMBINE'S PARTY CONFERENCE

Kania Addresses Meeting

LD061922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] In the technical workers' house in Plock a report-and-election conference was held today by the party organization of the Mazowsze refinery and petrochemical plant; it was attended by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The party organization of the Polish petrochemical industry, which has a membership of some 1,300, is represented by 134 delegates at the conference. Stanislaw Kania is a member of the local party organization at the catalytic processes plant of the petrochemical complex.

In his introduction, first secretary of the plant committee of the Plock petrochemical complex, Maciej Sledzianowski, said, among other things, that recent months have tested the links between party organizations and workforces as well as the attitudes of the members of the party and their ideological preparation. Although the Central Committee, at its plenary sessions, mapped out the immediate directions of party action, its guidance did not always meet with the consensus of party members and the implementation of the directives gave rise to reservations. This situation resulted, among other things, in the resignation of about 20 percent of members from the ranks of the party organization at the plant. Conversations held with persons who have surrendered their membership cards show, the first secretary of the plant committee said, that the main motives for the decision to resign from the party were lack of trust in the party and in its leadership, lack of faith in the party's ability and sincerity in action to promote the process of socialist renewal, as well as the absence of action to establish institutional barriers which would prevent the recurrence of grave social-political crises in the future.

The first secretary of the plant committee at the Plock petrochemical complex also said that the most important thing at this moment is the involvement of all members of the party in drawing up the program and the resolutions of the congress. This is one of the ways to recover the identity of the party and strengthen its unity. At the same time this makes it possible to control the activities of the authorities by the so-called party grassroots without resorting to the creation of horizontal structures.

A debate followed. The main subjects raised by the delegates include the country's economic situation, the situation at the Plock petrochemical complex itself and matters connected with preparations for the ninth party congress. The delegates addressed many questions to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

As reported by our correspondent Jerzy Malczynski, Stanislaw Kania stressed at the beginning of his speech that the interest of the whole workforce and the broadcast of the proceedings of the conference throughout the plant are proof of what one encounters throughout the country, the great interest of the nation in what is happening within the party as well as the great expectations that the Polish nation has as regards the PZPR. The speaker stated that during the interval he had been asked what the delegates to the conference should answer when asked: Are things going to get better in Poland? They must get better, and this will have to be achieved through our efforts, Stanislaw Kania said. We have considerable potential to carry out this task; above all, this is a potential in men--their qualifications, experience, attitudes and socialist ideas and views. We also have great potential in industrial resources; they are not well employed but able to provide us with food, with security and with shelter.

The next part of his speech was devoted to the preparations for the ninth party congress. He stated that there is a well-justified conviction that the congress will outline a [word indistinct] program for finding a way out of the difficulties that will serve the cause of strengthening the living role of the party in the new society and will produce a Central Committee possessing great moral-political prestige.

The congress will trace the line of socialist renewal. Broad party circles have shown interest in the implementation of resolutions adopted at the sixth plenum and the following plenary meetings of the Central Committee. No one will impose this line on us, either now or in the future. The congress should give to it its fullest expression, both weighty [nosny] and finding support in the widest circles of society.

The party wants to build an alliance of all forces which wish a socialist future for Poland, Stanislaw Kania said. From the report-back and election campaign and the precongress discussion we expect, above all, an enrichment of our programmatic assumptions with which we will go to the congress. We expect the participation of all the nation's progressive forces in this discussion since it is a program for Poland as a whole, for its future. As is the party so will be Poland, Stanislaw Kania stated. It must be constantly transformed and improved.

In the next part of his speech, the first secretary of the Central Committee spoke about the economic situation in our country and on the contradictions occuring in our society. He also touched upon international aspects of the situation in Poland. He stated that we must act so as to restore Poland's position as a reliable ally and credible partner. Next, the first secretary answered specific questions raised during the discussion.

At present, the elections for a delegate to the congress are in progress at the 10th election and program conference of the PZPR organization at the Mazowsze oil refinery and petrochemical plant. Two candidates have emerged from the poll: Antoni Wrobel, member of the Central Committee in the current term of office; and Kazimierz (Wydgovski), a deputy head of a department at the plant.

Total Personnel Change Scored

LD062232 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania took part in a report-and-election party organization conference which started today at the oil refinery and petrochemical works in Plock. Kania is a member of one of the works (?basic) party organizations.

Much of the debate was devoted to preparations for the 9th PUWP Congress, the party's (?internal) affairs and the responsibility of top party officials (?who led) to the present crisis in the country. Stanislaw Kania was asked many questions by participants at the conference.

They stressed that all party members should be involved in work on the programme and proposed congress resolutions. Party members still do not have confidence in their leaders. This does not help the party's regaining of trust. Hence the drop in the number of party members. They said no people guilty of abuses and deformations and none of those who failed particularly at difficult moments may lead party organizations.

Taking the floor, Stanislaw Kania said that the society directs its hopes for a change and an improvement of the situation in the country to the party. Those are the hopes pinned on the approaching PUWP Congress. The whole nation is looking forward to a presentation of its programme and results. I am convinced that the congress will fully reaffirm the line of socialist renewal, Kania said. From the viewpoint of the interests of the nation and socialist construction there is no alternative to this line. This is also related to the strivings of our party, which wants to build an alliance and collaboration of all forces in the cause of overcoming the crisis.

Kania expressed his confidence that the report and election campaign in the party will contribute to enriching the programme assumptions (?declared) for the congress and mapping the [word indistinct] for the nation's development. Elections in the party are conducted on democratic principles.

This is conducive to introducing young people to party authorities of various levels. However, we should also look after the continuity of cadres and the using of party experience. Renewal does not mean a total change of personnel, as this would involve damage to the party. Democratic elections also mean a striving that democratism in the party become a lasting and irreversible phenomenon.

Kania also stressed the importance of those tasks of the party which contribute to Poland's regaining of credibility in international relations as a reliable link in the socialist community and a trustworthy partner in relations with Western states. The PUWP first secretary also emphasized the trust in our party that the Soviet leaders have voiced and their confidence that it has enough strength to resolve the problems. He also emphasized the significance of economic aid granted by the Soviet Union.

Delegate, Resolution Approved

LD070904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 7 May 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania was present at the report-and-election conference of the factory party organization of the Plock petrochemical plant. Out of the seven candidates submitted the participants in the conference have elected in secret ballot Antoni Wrobel as a delegate to the ninth party congress. He is a member of the Central Committee and of the Central Party Control Commission. He works as electro-mechanic in the factory thermopower station.

At the first plenum of the newly-elected factory committee he was entrusted with the post of first secretary. Those present at the conference have passed a resolution which directs to the party Central Committee a demand for a consistent and just settling of accounts with all of those who have driven the country into a crisis. The resolution also says that people who have failed in the discharge of party duties should be deprived of opportunities to be promoted to posts in the administration and economy and should be sent to work in accordance with their skills.

WASZCZUK ATTENDS PRINT INDUSTRY MEETING IN WARSAW

LD070704 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] The tasks of the party organizations in the printing industry before the ninth extraordinary party congress and action aimed at overcoming the crisis in books and periodicals production were discussed at a conference of first secretaries of party organizations in print works held in Warsaw today. The conference was attended by Jerzy Waszczuk, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee.

Summing up the discussion, Jerzy Waszczuk stressed that overcoming the existing difficulties in the printing industry is of decisive importance to the development of national culture.

The secretaries of party organizations who took part in the conference adopted a resolution expressing the support of this profession for the transformations occurring in our country.

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES 10TH PARTY PLENUM 29 APRIL

AU061055 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-3 May 81 p 3

[Speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Politburo member and premier, at the 29 April 10th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] Please regard this speech primarily as a report that the government wants to present to the Central Committee.

It is today that, in keeping with the familiar 10 April resolution of the Sejm, the government will present to the Sejm a report on the state of the economy, a program for government activities to stabilize the economy on the basis of a 3-year orientation plan and, finally, the evaluation and proposals concerning the state of work on the economic reform and its aims. These documents, which will be presented to the public at a suitable moment, represent a large-scale work of evaluations and programmatic aims oriented primarily toward tomorrow and a more distant future.

What is the government doing now? It has taken initial emergency action to alleviate and slow down the results of the crisis. It has taken action to curb the uncontrolled abuses of cooperative supplies, to protect the people who are worst off and to equitably ration some commodities in short supply, however imperfect this rationing is.

Second, the government has taken long-term measures which are being implemented partially for the time being. That is why I call them the "bridgeheads of the reform." These measures are supported by a large number of legal acts now in preparation. These acts will be developed through honest social consultations, although this prolongs their development.

Third, the government is pursuing systemic activities of strategic significance. These activities are a component part and the backbone of economic reform and the basic prerequisite of the reform's final success. Those activities boil down to reorganizing the system and structures of management and to reforming prices. These socioeconomic operations will present enormous difficulties, but we have great hopes of their practical feasibility. They present opportunities for overcoming the crisis and the economic stalemate, for forging ahead and for creating and guaranteeing healthy mechanisms that are consistent with socialism's economic laws.

The party was and is behind those reforms and difficult operations. We still need the party's support and inspiration. The party must regain its strength and strengthen its leading role and sense of historic mission. The party's strength and inner health are not abstract values--they are a matter for the entire workers class and people and for Poland. There is no socialism without the party's leading role, and without socialism there is no Poland that is independent, safe and placed within favorable borders. Such is the iron logic of the laws of history and of our national realities and experience. Nor is it possible to overcome the crisis without the party's leading role, to limit the social costs involved in that crisis or to guarantee social security, especially in the sphere of full employment which only socialism can provide. Also, without the party's leading role and its alliance with all patriotic forces, it is impossible to consolidate and further develop socialist renewal and democracy. As you see, a strong and revitalized party is a national requirement, and we--Central Committee members and party activists--are that requirement's executors who bear special characteristics and special responsibility.

Despite a severe crisis, our society has largely--almost universally--accepted socialism as a system and as an idea of social justice. That shows logically that party members and nonparty people have and should have a common platform of effort for the common good. That is why efforts to rebuild trust, credibility and ties with the workers class and people continue to be the basic lines of our action. However, in order to consolidate and expand the policy and platform of accord and constructive cooperation--which are advocated by the overwhelming part of our people, party members, nonparty people, believers, nonbelievers and millions and millions of trade unionists from various trade unions--we must have a clear line of division vis-a-vis the antisocialist forces--the destructive forces that are blind with hatred and are responsible for extreme situations. Such situations justify the fears and concern expressed at this plenum for the stability of the state and its structure and for the conditions under which government bodies can discharge their constitutional functions.

It is our wish that the present talks with Solidarity and our initiatives to set up joint commissions will help to more clearly define the framework of cooperation, rights, duties and the identical comprehension and observance of the rule of law.

Above all, it is our wish that those talks will help spread the awareness that shared responsibility for the country's fate, economy and liberation from its crisis is the overriding issue.

The government will implement the agreements. At the same time, in keeping with the Sejm's recent resolution, it should more consistently safeguard the conditions under which bodies of power function and defend the interests of the socialist state.

Comrades, today it is not easy to be a party member. It is a difficult task. The past errors and their results are a heavy burden upon us. But, despite everything, the rank and file members are the worst off. They are in the frontline and bear the burden of guilt that is not of their making. Some party members have given up and left the party for formal or ideological reasons, but most party members have remained; and although at times bitterness, various emotions and antisocialist pressures place them in difficult and often disordered situations, they have not left the party in the lurch. They are in and with the party. They count on the party. They believe in renewal and in the regeneration of the party's strength and authority. Their loyalty to the party is the best means for rebuilding its authority.

We have come to live in extremely difficult times, but their virtue is that they provide the most exacting and most credible opportunities for people to prove themselves in action and not in words--in above-average efforts, in defense of the party's good name and in party duties voluntarily assumed. The people who prove themselves at such times are entitled to satisfaction and to profound respect.

The report to this plenum and the general discussion have shown that the party's strength consists of its internal, ever richer democratism and creative thinking, on the one hand; and of a sense of responsibility for disciplined implementation of our joint program based on ideological principles, on the other. The party can be more open to external influence, to extensive nationwide cooperation and to implementation of its leading role if it is ideologically more cohesive within itself and if it defends its Marxist-Leninist identity. Precisely the party's cohesion and ideological unity are the most important task in view of the coming ninth congress and threats facing us.

The past 9 months have been a particularly difficult stint in the life of the party, every party member and every one of us. That is why everyone should evaluate himself and determine what he can do better. He should do it in a way worthy of a party member. That is especially important now--at this most critical juncture and during what we call the preharvest period. That economically most difficult period is also a precongress period, which will decide how we face the congress and what foundations we will create for its successful course and final results. The government sees special tasks for itself in that period. Aside from strategic and systematic measures, we also need small and inconspicuous measures. We need actions to use up simple production reserves, of which there is such an abundance around us. We need to strengthen the weak bodies that determine the functioning of the system as a whole. In a word, we need to most fully exploit all available reserves.

We consider it our duty to constantly keep on the working table the programmatic theses for the ninth congress, to draw inspiration from them and to make current use of them particularly in moves to overcome the crisis and enhance labor and production. Turly enough, actions organized from above are now out of fashion. However, we should consider very thoroughly what the results will be of that critical second quarter which we will present at the congress. Our ambition should be to make those results the best, within the real possibilities. Certainly a great deal depends on the intensity and quality of work in the sphere of administration, management and government. Renewal--and that is perhaps the way it is also interpreted--is primarily earnest daily work. That is the elementary identity card of renewal. For that exact reason, we think no time should be wasted. It is necessary to act purposefully, vigorously and with initiative. There must be no work at half speed. Specific tasks must be accomplished. In that sphere we can see weak spots, and I fully share the opinion of the comrades who indicated certain shortcomings in that respect.

One can undoubtedly say that to act in the spirit of socialist renewal means primarily to act with thoughts about man, about his concerns and worries, about mitigating the hardships of daily lives and about averting various nonsense which upsets people. In that context, the problem of internal trade, and particularly of rationing, is difficult. That is a very complex sphere and at the same time an experimental stage. The government will take further steps to systematically regulate that sector. It seems to be advisable, precisely from party inspiration, to pay more heed to people who are the poorest, old, disabled and lacking family support. That must not be a simple short-lived action, but an earnest and specially organized care, a whole system of activities in response to human needs. In particular, young people should be broadly engaged in this.

We will pay particular heed to opposing a formal bureaucratic attitude to people and to labor. We will require active and benevolent treatment of complaints, applications and grievances that are flowing in a wide stream to all state offices.

In our economic life there is still a broad margin for mismanagement and waste. There are numerous examples of this. It is also necessary to redouble efforts to enhance thrift in big and small matters. Ranking among the big matters is the economy of coal which is our fundamental natural asset. Moreover, the problem of coal deserves to be discussed separately. Going back to the problems of wastefulness, it is deemed to be a great educational task to cultivate the feeling that whatever is socialist, or common, is to be looked after like one's own property. We are perhaps still only at the beginning of shaping such an attitude, but that may prove to be one of the elements of socialist renewal. We must and will deal firmly, in line with principle, with any deviation from that rule.

All that is connected with cadre policy. On the whole, we have well experienced cadres. However, it is necessary to improve cadre policy and to give the green light to all those cadre reserves which can enrich our social and economic life. On the other hand, we must protect all people honestly and reliably working at their posts in the people's rule. That apparatus should be improved, but it must not be demolished.

Within a few days we are going to celebrate the next, 36th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. This arouses historical and present-day reflections. We must cherish the memory of Poland's liberation and of marking and guaranteeing our borders on the Oder, the Neisse and the Baltic by the Soviet and the Polish soldiers. We must be aware of the economic assistance and advantageous cooperation and must remember everything that unites us. In light of precisely that anniversary and those reflections, it hurts and angers us that various anti-Soviet voices are constantly emerging. Attacks against the values of our alliance are politically pernicious, economically harmful and, bearing in mind those 600,000 [Soviet soldiers] buried in our soil, they are base. I would like to assure the comrades that the soldier of the Polish People's Army, who carries out his soldiery duty within the Warsaw Pact in guarding peace, security and the fatherland's borders, spares no efforts wherever he can help society and the national economy.

JAGIELSKI SPEAKS AT 10TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU061641 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 May 81 p 6

[Report on speech by Mieczyslaw Jagielski, Politburo member and deputy premier, at the 29 April 10th Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] Much criticism has been leveled at the Politburo and the Central Committee in the past few months. I regard as most important the criticism that claims that we have not been able to keep abreast of events and--under the enormous pressure of current problems--to devote enough effort to strategic thinking. While making a multitude of decisions and performing various activities, we have not been able consistently enough to remove various obstacles to renewal. We have not stressed that which should determine the long-term development of democracy on the basis of inviolable political principles.

Our country needs reforms capable of ensuring development consistent with the aims of socialism and of ensuring progress in all spheres. The party needs such changes in its life and activities as will enhance its energies, credibility, confidence and influence within society. We have embarked upon such a road and will be able to solve our problems only along such a road.

The sixth plenum initiated the process of rectifying errors and of straightening deviations from socialist principles. We have increased our democracy and a new climate of political life is being developed. However, it would be wrong to see only positive features of that process because it is beset by negative manifestations and crucial threats. For example, slogans have appeared that have nothing in common with socialist democracy. The second threat is the resumption of the basic disputes about various issues of the present and past times. Our specifically Polish conditions are responsible for the fact that such issues have always been one of the main fronts of ideological struggle. Despite various simplifications, we have achieved considerable progress in interpreting various events. We must always bear in mind the key issue for Poland--the historic achievement of a breakthrough in Polish-Soviet relations and developing those relations in an alliance of friendship and cooperation.

The third threat is the attitudes of stubborn negation and opposition to the party, the government and state institutions. I understand the reasons for discontent and protest. Many features of our present political situation were born of that protest. Prospects for socialist renewal enable new component parts of political and social life to be grafted on the structure of our system. However, we must change the attitude that aims at consolidating a kind of privilege of being in opposition in keeping with the saying that "you solve problems and take responsibility for results, and we just appraise, criticize and judge." We must achieve mutual understanding and trust. The strategically main task facing us is to consistently implement renewal and effectively defend the limits resulting from the universal laws of socialism and from the criteria of our credibility as allies.

The prolongation of the crisis is also a source of complications, difficulties and threats. It gives rise to manifestations that contradict social and state order and the fundamental norms of a party such as ours. Of course, we must carefully distinguish such manifestations from the many features of the new practice we want to propagate.

As for the party, it is a very valuable feature that party organizations no longer isolate themselves, but want to inspire and control party branches and apparatus. We value the development of open discussions on ideology and the perseverance with which basic party members insist that the Central Committee examine their proposals. Also the workers' increased share in party branches is very important since this guarantees correct implementation of the party's programmatic line in keeping with the working people's interests.

We should support whatever constitutes a considered response to the problems posed for us by the crisis. We should also eliminate whatever hinders liquidating that crisis, and promoting stabilization and whatever undermines party unity. We need real unity, a unity that results from recognizing fundamental ideological principles, from openly discussing various problems, from working out draft solutions and from exercising meaningful criticism. The unity within the Central Committee must be the lodestar of party unity,but we do not want any return to the old practices. We want decisions to be made as a result of discussions and exchanges of views.

Economic problems occupy an important place in programmatic tenets. Satisfaction over renewal in the political sphere is frustrated with increasing frequency by the enormous production troubles and the painful difficulties of daily living. Whatever negatively affects the mood of the people produces impatience and doubts. Our ideological and political militancy must go hand in hand with a much greater concern for economic commitments. The main thing is ad hoc measures connected with the government's 10-point program.

Agriculture has a special place in our efforts, and this allows us to be more optimistic about the future.

The government is also devoting all its efforts to ensuring market supplies of food and industrial goods. We will back additional production whenever possible. The equitable distribution of food is another important problem that we will watch most keenly.

Work on the plan for economic stabilization is coming to an end. The plan's aim is to halt the process of deteriorating living standards, to protect the interests of the groups of people with lower wages and to gradually eliminate the present disproportions. All this will help create conditions for economic growth in the coming years.

There are various grounds for the slowness in drawing up that plan--slowness which continues to be criticized. The plan is an extremely important document based on feasible premises, which have been tested in every way. Two of these premises are most difficult to fix. They are the volume of coal extraction, which determines energy, heating and the capacity of many branches of industry; and export, which determines our ability to obtain raw materials from socialist countries and to earn hard currencies to pay for imports. The second premise involves the extremely complicated issues of our foreign payments.

The government will present the draft plan to the Sejm. Without substantiating it, I will draw your attention to the fact that the plan makes it necessary to distribute our scant resources of materials, fuels, energy, investment resources and import resources in such a way as to concentrate all our efforts on the most important tasks: First, on the task of specifically implementing the slogan "everything for agriculture;" second, on the task of improving as fast as possible the market situation of industrial goods--in that connection the production of staple industrial goods will be the main task for many years to come; third, on the task of developing export production; fourth, on the task of doing whatever can increase our own base of raw and other materials and help us to use them effectively; fifth, on the task of completing and sorting out our investments and on ensuring a radical discipline of investments.

The issue of exports is closely related to the very difficult situation of the domestic market and to industrial supplies. Nothing can be improved without increased exports. Exports make imports possible, and today everyone must understand that only increased exports will enable us to live and solve problems. If we fail to keep our export promises to socialist countries, they will have to buy the goods they need in other countries and to sell them the raw materials we could use. If we are absent from some foreign markets for a long time, then our goods may be eliminated from other foreign markets as well. Without exports we will never rebuild our country's credibility as an economic partner. In addition, reneging on our commitment to export tasks involving high quality requirements could help lower the technological standards of many goods we produce. As you can see, concentrating attention on export production is an order of the day in every way.

Given the scarcity of our resources, it is necessary to deprive some spheres of resources in order to augment the resources of the most important spheres. We must consistently streamline production, investments, supplies and the distribution of resources. Those who find themselves in more difficult conditions as a result of that must understand that such measures are necessary and that they are the only way to solve the problems that are now most crucial for our economy.

This task calls for high discipline on the part of the state and economic apparatus and for strong support by the party. It also offers much room for self-government activities and for cooperation among all trade unions.

At this plenum we have reaffirmed our unequivocal backing for the irreversible process of socialist renewal, for implementing workers' just aspirations, for the party's consolidation in action, for the unity of all the comrades who are loyal to the party standard, for constructive discussions, for criticism in the form of decisions and activities, for inquiries within the limits of the draft programmatic principles and draft statutory changes, for candid cooperation with all constructive streams of political and social life and for an open dialogue on the basis of inviolability of the principles of the socialist state.

The documents examined by the 10th plenum should direct the party's energy toward the future, toward the ninth congress.

SEJM APPROVES FARMER'S TU REGISTRATION, TU BILLS

NC061117 Paris AFP in English 1110 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (AFP)--The Polish Diet today gave the green light for the registration of the independent farmers' union, Rural Solidarity.

The vote, which was unanimous save four abstentions, will allow a Warsaw administrative court to register the group officially, in accordance with an agreement reached on April 17 in Bydgoszcz between the government and the Rural Solidarity strike committee.

Observers expressed doubt, however, that the court would formally reocgnize the union before May 10, as had been agreed in Bydgoszcz.

Parliament also adopted a bill calling for registration of the heaquarters of various agricultural circles and organizations that recently became independent after having long been controlled by the government.

This vote was also unanimous, except for seven abstentions.

The legislators also passed with one abstention a third bill, providing for various union groups to unite under one umbrella organization.

The three bills were seen as a temporary legislative effort to give official status to all unions, pending adoption of a permanent law now being prepared by a state commission that includes representation from Solidarity, the independent union federation.

Only one deputy, Kazimierz Zdonek of the [United] Peasant Party, spoke during the nationally-televised debate on the Rural Solidarity vote.

He criticized his own party, which has ties with the Polish United Workers' (communist) Party, for not having demonstrated the necessary "understanding" towards individual farmers. He also thanked workers for supporting the farmers.

'Text' of Three TU Bills

LD061820 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1400 GMT 6 May 81

["Text" of bill on trade unions for private farmers, bill on registration of agriculture circles and organizations, and bill on registration of interunion organizations approved at 6 May session of Sejm--read by announcer]

[Text] The Bill Concerning Private Farmers' Trade Unions:

Article I, paragraph 1: Private farmers who actually engage in farming and persons related to them who work on the farm with them are entitled to set up trade unions of private farmers to defend their rights and professional interests;

Paragraph 2: Private farmers' trade unions shall develop their activities in the sphere of the protection of the economic and social interests of their members and their families and in the field of the promotion of agricultural production.

Article II: Private farmers' trade unions shall be set up and registered on the basis of principles for trade unions of employees.

The Bill Concerning the Registration of Agricultural Circles and Unions of Circles and Agricultural Organizations

Article I: The registration of agricultural circles and unions of circles and agricultural organizations shall follow the procedure laid down for trade unions of employees;

Article II: The courts of law to which applications for registration must be made are:

For agricultural circles and for parish unions of circles and agricultural organizations --the relevant district courts;

For voivodship unions of circles and agricultural organizations--the relevant voivodship courts;

For the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations--the voivodship court in Warsaw.

Article III: The rights, duties and tasks of agricultural circles and unions of circles and agricultural organizations are defined in separate regulations.

The Bill Concerning the Registration of Interunion Organizations

Article I: Interunion organizations and in particular federations, confederations, consultative commissions and associations of trade unions set up by trade unions of employees, shall obtain legal status from the date of registration by the voivodship court in Warsaw, carried out on the basis of principles and in accordance with the procedure laid down for newly established regional associations of trade unions.

VICE MINISTER VIEWS JUDGES' SELF-GOVERNMENT

LD061524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 6 May 81

[Proceedings of the 6 May session of the Sejm held in the Sejm building in Warsaw--live]

[Excerpt] [Sejm Vice Marshal Halina Skibniewska] Deputy Szczepan Styranowski says in his interpellation that he has received a letter from the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of the NSZZ Solidarity of Employees of the Ministry of Justice, from which it emerges that the minister of justice is not taking steps designed to examine the KKP demands aiming at the setting up of self-government in the judiciary. In view of the above the deputy asks the minister of justice why the demands pertaining to setting up a self-government of courts have not yet been implemented, why no agreements have yet been signed, and what does the minister of justice intend to do in order to implement these demands. In order to answer the interpellation First Vice Minister of Justice Citizen Tadeusz Skora will take the floor.

[Skora] Citizen speaker! Esteemed Sejm! On behalf of the minister of justice I will answer the interpellation of Deputy Szczepan Styranowski and give an assurance that the minister of justice and the leadership of the ministry understand the general, social interest in problems pertaining to the extension of the independence of judges in view of its relevance to the constitutional principle of their independence.

Judges' self-government does exist and constitutes the most refined form of all judicial systems of the socialist countries. There is only the need to extend it. The regulations of the law, which is binding in Poland as regards the structure of universal courts, stipulate a general meeting of voivodship courts' judges which elects members of disciplinary courts and half of the composition of the administrative collegia formed in order to determine the division of prerogatives in courts.

The motives of the trade union initiative designed to widen the terms of reference of judges self-government are endorsed by the leadership of the ministry. This is borne out by the fact that work has begun on drafting amendments to the bill, "The Act on the Structure of Universal Courts." An essential factor of the amendment will be the bestowing of new rights on judges' self-government as an element to enhance the judges' responsibility for the quality of jurisdiction, manner of court proceedings and the reduction in social costs of the administration of justice.

The subject of these rights and their scope are currently being examined by a group set up by the minister of justice. The group constitutes a broad representation of judges, including those representing trade unions operating within the Ministry of Justice. As regards the aims concerning changes in judges' self-government, these are being drafted by the group, among other things, from demands submitted in this respect as a result of the debate conducted among judges, from the signed agreement with the autonomous, NSZZ Solidarity of Employees of the Ministry of Justice, and from the stipulation of the draft agreement with the NSZZ Solidarity of Employees of the Ministry of Justice which is being prepared for signing.

The fact that work on this latest agreement is still in progress is the result of the demand by the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity for inclusion in the text of the agreement of stipulations pertaining to problems going beyond the statutory rights of the union and the terms of reference of the minister of justice. These are first of all: the terms of reference of the Public Prosecutor and the Citizens' Militia as regards preparatory, penal proceedings, the abolition of terms of office for judges of the Supreme Court, the transfer to courts of cases dealing with offenses carrying the penalty of detention. With the exception of the problem pertaining to the terms of office of the Supreme Court these matters are being dealt with by a commission set up by the minister of justice which is responsible for the preparation of changes in the penal law.

The commission is widely representative of scientific quarters and the bodies concerned. I should like to mention that without waiting for the final results of the decisions adopted by the group set up for the preparation of a new model of judges' self-government, the minister of justice has instructed the chairmen of the voivodship courts to extend within the framework of the binding regulations the prerogatives of judges' self-government as regards the election of all members of the administrative collegium and recently as regards the pronouncing of opinion on candidates for court presidents.

[Skibniewska] Thank you Citizen Vice Minister. Is there any other citizen who would like to take the floor on this matter? Please.

[Unidentified deputy] Esteemed minister. I realize and it is also commonly known, since the mass media have informed the community, in particular those concerned, that at present talks are in progress between the delegation of the Ministry of Justice and the delegation of NSZZ Solidarity. These problems are the subject of debate and deliberations. I am also aware that a group has been set up to deal with judiciary self-government, which is implementing and discussing these postulates. Hence the statement made by you, minister, completely satisfies me personally. But I do not know, of course, whether it fully satisfies my constituents. I hope and I am deeply convinced that both esteemed commissions which are negotiating the problems related to the administration of justice will make every effort to ensure that the law is the law and justice is justice, binding on all citizens in our country. Thank you.

GOVERNMENT, SOLIDARITY AGREEMENT ON MEDIA REPORTED

On Particular Issues

LD061516 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] [No dateline received] The third round of talks between Solidarity and the government on access to the mass media: It has been agreed that regular time is guaranteed on main and local radios, as well as on television, for Solidarity programs.

These programs will observe the precepts of the Gdansk agreement while the contents will not exceed union statutory activities. These programs are subject to basic censorship and will be produced by Polish citizens. The representatives of NSZZ Solidarity have pointed out that the period of time claimed at present constitutes 0.2 percent of radio time and 0.8 percent of television time. As regards time on the air, both sides have achieved rapprochement on their positions. But there are still many controversial issues which will be the subject of further talks.

More Details

LD061528 Warsaw PAP in English 1402 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--As already reported, the third round of talks between a working team composed of representatives of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the Solidarity union devoted to Solidarity's access to the mass media came to an end here last night. The talks were presided over by the two sides' press spokesmen, Jozef Barecki and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

The government side considers that effective social control over the activity of radio and television will be exercised by the statutory collegial bodies of television and the radio: the Committee for Radio and Television, the Programme Council and the Scientific-Technological Council. The Committee for Radio and Television has invited a Solidarity representative to be a member of the Programme Council. The Solidarity's opinion is that discussion on the form of social control over the activity of the radio and television should, among other things, encompass the change of the existing statutes of the committee to allow for the creation of editorial departments producing independent programmes.

Solidarity upheld its stance stating, among other things, that to enable the union's access to radio and television it is necessary to set up within the Radio-TV Committee's structure a special editorial department with the editor-in-chief status, to take care of trade union matters. This editorial department would be subordinated to the Radio and TV Committee's authorities with regard to such matters as production, finances, social questions, etc, excluding the programmatic and substantive sphere of activity. The Radio-TV Committee authorities explained that its statute, in the present organizational structure, held no provisions for the existence of an editorial department not substantively subordinated to the Committee for Radio and Television.

To ensure the broadcasting of Solidarity's programmes in radio and television, the government side has proposed the appointment of representatives of Presidium of the Committee for Radio and Television and Solidarity responsible for implementation of Solidarity's programmes. The representatives will decide on the choice of themes of the broadcasts, name the producing team, review concepts and scripts of the broadcasts, decide on the emission of completed programmes and set the time of broadcasts.

It has been decided to allocate for Solidarity's programmes regular broadcasting time and emission channel in the nation-wide and local radio and television network. Solidarity's programmes will observe the principles of the Gdansk agreements and the contents will fit the union's statutory framework. The programmes will be subject to state censorship and will be produced by Polish citizens.

On the question of the length of broadcasting time, the two sides' views have drawn closer.

It has been decided that in addition the Committee for Radio and Television will produce periodical discussion programmes in radio and television featuring important national socio-economic topics. Solidarity representatives will be invited to express the union's views on the subjects under discussion. Regular programmes with a permanent name, separate for television and radio, will be broadcast as of this May, as often as needed or at least once a month; similar programmes will be provided by regional TV and radio networks.

The government side has stated that Solidarity has the right immediately to respond to government criticism in the radio and TV, according to generally accepted legal norms.

The sides have agreed that the radio and TV news bulletins will carry information on the contents of resolutions and declarations issued by Solidarity. The contents of the information each time will be cleared with the Solidarity press spokesman. In the event of such clearance being unavailable, the radio and TV will broadcast their own or press agencies' account of the matter in question stating either that the information has not been cleared or quoting the news agency concerned.

The government side has confirmed that Solidarity has the right to possess its own radio and TV studio.

Another round of talks to discuss Solidarity's access to mass media other than radio and television will be held on Thursday.

OFFICIAL TALKS WITH LOCAL SOLIDARITY GROUPS HELD

Forestry Ministry Talks

LD070732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] According to the Ministry of Forestry, talks have taken place between a commission from the Ministry of Forestry and Timber Industry and the National Consultative Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of workers in forest production enterprises "LAS."

As a result of these talks an agreement has been reached regarding the implementation of fundamental proposals and demands regarding matters of pay, social matters, and matters of labor safety and work hygiene voiced by workteams in enterprises in this industry. Apart from this the two sides recognized the necessity of maintaining further contact and of continuing activities aimed at a full implementation of the agreement.

Nowy Sacz Continue Talks

LD070648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 May 81

[TExt] The fifth round of talks between the Nowy Sacz NSZZ Solidarity and a working commission from the central authority continued in Nowy Sacz today. During the negotiations dealing with twenty various issues, problems preoccupying local public opinion were discussed. Among other things, the issue of an extremely ill-chosen location for a factory of bituminous grease at Tymbark was discussed. In accordance with the demands, the Nowy Sacz voivoda decided to stop the production of bituminous grease starting tomorrow. Local personnel and organizational matters were also discussed and apprpriate decisions taken. The talks are continuing.

WALESA ON UNSATISFACTORY GOVERNMENT CHANGES

NC071256 Paris AFP in English 1249 GMT 7 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May (AFP)--Some members of Solidarity, the national independent union federation, should soon be allowed to enter both Parliament and the government, federation leader Lech Walesa said today.

"Changes of people (in government) are not yet satisfactory," Mr. Walesa said during a morning news conference in the Baltic seaport of Gdansk. "I've always thought that the social movement Solidarity would bring along members who would demonstrate intelligence, organizational sense and logic."

If some such figures distinguish themselves, he said, "I hope that in the future the Diet (Parliament) and the government will take advantage of their intelligence and capacity to govern."

For the present, he said, it was necessary to wait for "real militants to stand out, before using them when the time comes, maybe in six months, maybe in a year."

"We are (now) in the depth of great chaos, and I will not propose other modifications because it would only make the situation worse," Mr Walesa said.

Any proposals to change leaders now would serve no purpose because "we do not exactly know who we would get," he said. A new official might turn out "even worse" than his predecessor, he added.

He cautioned, however, that Solidarity was not trying to become a political party, and would continue its union activities.

PRESS ARTICLES DISCUSS SOLIDARITY THESES

Summary of Articles

LD061644 Warsaw PAP in English 1432 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--More articles in the Polish press deal with the recently published Solidarity programmatic theses. Noted journalists Jerzy Urban, Aleksander Paszynski and Daniel Passent, while stressing the importance of the document, take a critical view of a number of formulations betraying such traits as negation of history, resentful attitude towards the state which Solidarity regards as being in its employ. Writing in the weekly POLITYKA, Urban points to the "peculiar political spirit of the document."

"The authors were careful to avoid in the document the conception of and word socialism, referring merely to the achievement of socialist thought, but the thought antecedent to that being implemented since the inception of the Polish People's Republic, as shown by the context." [sentence as received]

"This controversy notwithstanding, Urban goes on, the document shows numerous similarities with theses contained in the PUWP programme and with the truths and options which are part of the mental achievement of People's Poland or derive from the ideology underlying Poland's postwar development. These similarities refer not only to the basic ideas. Also numerous critical thoughts towards the past policy of the party and the state and proposals seeking improvement of relations in Poland have already been formulated in post-August documents issued by plenary meetings of the PUWP Central Committee. All this indicates that the two political forces could find a common language regardless of the fact that, next to similarities, differences do exist between their respective standpoints," says Urgan.

Urban considers essential Solidarity's initial declaration to cooperate with the government in taking decisions on most important and pressing economic questions. In Urban's opinion, only the absence of a chapter on foreign policy sets the Solidarity draft document apart from a political party programme.

Paszynski's article, also in POLITYKA, maintains that the Solidarity theses reveal the maturing of the new union and its growing sense of responsibility for the fate of the country. The theses alleviate the fears that Solidarity will stick to the position merely of an observer and controller but are hesitant on the question of how much the union is going to be involved in the economic reform. Without Solidarity's authentic involvement in the reform of the functioning of the country's socio-economic life it will not be possible to achieve something sensible. Even partial responsibility is unavoidable, and Solidarity theses must provide a manly answer to this question, says Paszynski.

In ZYCIE WARSZAWY'S Monday issue Daniel Passent makes a point that the theses are a pioneering work, but since its formulations are often too general there is room for all kinds of confusing interpretations.

We have to do with a project to base the Polish life on four pillars which have never been fully connected--the nation's best traditions, the ethical principles of Christianity, the political challenge of democracy and the socialist social thought. These pillars can support different constructions. Thus the formulation lends itself to different interpretations. Passent is critical of the fact that the Solidarity document regards the state not as a common good but the addressee of claims.

"The theses should be welcomed as a step towards overcoming the state of chaos which always accompanies great upheavals, but they do not offer a political self-identification of that most powerful movement in Poland," says Passent.

DZIENNIK LUDOWY, the UPP [ZSL] daily added today that the statement suggesting that outside Solidarity there is no other force capable of guaranteeing the process of renewal sounds like megalomania, which probably was not intended by the authors of the document.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Strike 'Logic'

LD061342 Warsaw PAP in English 0823 GMT 6 May 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU analysed selected aspects of the recently announced programmatic theses of the Solidarnosc union. One of them is the strike issue. As the theses put it, the strikes are to hurt most acutely the state employer and be as little harmful to working people as possible.

The daily wrote that "one can agree or disagree with the union's theses, but one can deny them a high level of logic and coherence. But who can think of a something which--in our conditions--hurts "only the state employer?" [quotation marks as received]

"The logics here displayed are just dangerously false. Strikes are employees' right and none will probably ever withdraw it in this country now. I think," went on the daily's journalist, "that strikes are a truly inalienable right for working people all over the world. But in our concrete--and also unchangeable--political situation there is no such selection which would allow strikes to 'hurt the state employer' without hurting employees as well. This is the only reason why we seriously regard strikes as a truly ultimate measure. I do not know if this is not the basic issue for the union's programme document to explain to its members unambiguously and according to the objective truth", said TRYBUNA LUDU's commentator.

BRANCH TRADE UNIONIST EXPLAINS OSTROWIEC CONFLICT

AU061236 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 May 81 p 4

[Speech by Albin Szyszka, chairman of the Consultative Commission of Industrial Trade Unions, at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] Since the issue of the conflict in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski has been raised, and since, I think, Central Committee members are simply not familiar with the case, I consider it my duty to present it briefly. It has the appearance of an incident. Three bus drivers in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, members of our party and members of the municipal workers trade union, have been struggling for a month to be reinstated in the jobs they lost with the ruling that they must not be employed by any other transportation enterprise. One of those comrades, Bogdan Rybak, is a member of the Kielce Voivodship committee and a member of the executive of the Ostrowiec city committee. He holds a category one driving license, has been employed at his enterprise for 11 years, holds the badges of "meritorious frontranking worker" and "model driver," and has never been punished under work regulations. Lech Bodych holds a category one driving license, has 4 years of service in transportation and has never been punished.

What happened then? What offense did they commit? They complied with the decision of our party's Politburo and with their trade union's appeal to work on 27 March and not to participate in the warning strike. They made use of their personal rights and the freedom granted them under the Constitution and acted on the basis of the theses of the act on trade unions, theses which Solidarity has also pledged to observe. Article 34 of the act says that no one may be forbidden to participate in a strike, but also that no one may be compelled to participate in a strike.

For a month these men have been applying to many local and central authorities, including the Central Committee. They paid a visit to Deputy Premier Rakowski. Mediatory action has been taken. Without waiting for the results of the action and without waiting for the arrival of mediators both from Solidarity and the Industrial Trade Unions commissions, one of the deputy voivodas signed an agreement on the strength of which both men and their directors, who was suddenly found guilty of some offenses, were dismissed. That happened against elementary legal principles, in defiance of the code and without the participation of the appropriate trade union. Some 140 members of that trade union have been resolutely fighting to reinstate their colleagues and comrades in their jobs.

I hope that we will intervene on their behalf, that we will intervene resolutely, because the point is that they believe in their party and believe that the law is not dead. They have not been carried away by fear which, unfortunately, frequently governs some of our figures, both in the party and in the state, to whom the persons concerned applied for assistance. All they have received were mere assurances.

For us this case is of fundamental importance. We must defend these men, our colleagues. And we shall defend them with whatever means we are compelled to apply. But the question should be raised: Is it necessary to resort to extreme measures, was it not possible to settle the case long ago?

Following Albin Szyszka's speech, Comrade Stanislaw Kania asked Comrade Janusz Brych to explain the course of events. Janusz Brych, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Social and Vocational Department, who investigated the case on the spot, explained in particular that the workers concerned had not been dismissed from the enterprise but suspended from their jobs. The case has been under investigation by the Prosecutor's Office for 10 days or so. According to the voivodship prosecutor, the incident requires a prosecutor's investigation because the blame lies both on the drivers, who are members of the party and of Industrial Trade Unions, and also on workers of the Ostrowiec city transportation enterprise who are Solidarity members. When the investigation is complete, a decision will be adopted and reported to the Central Committee.

Witold Gadomski, Kielce Voivodship committee first secretary, was the next to take the floor. He said in particular that the point was that the collective was divided exactly the way it was divided during the strike. There are PZPR members on both sides, among those who participated in the strike and stood guard at the gate and among drivers running buses. In our opinion, the case should have been settled within the enterprise, between the cells of the two trade unions. However, no settlement has been reached. Both the management and Solidarity submitted the case to the prosecutor. In the meantime, comrades from the Industrial Trade Unions have begun to seek support and assistance at the capital city level. The case has a political character since the point of it is to give a lesson to those who did not participate in the warning strike and did not obey the will of the strike organizers.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who spoke next, said in particular that as soon as he learned that the workers concerned, although not dismissed, were suspended and unable to resume their work, he sent a telex message to L. Walesa and A. Szyszka. The point was to move the National Consultative Commission and trade unions to send their negotiators. I am doing my best, the deputy premier said, to protect these workers. I have been doing that from the beginning and they knew that. They saw me twice to speak about the case.

While summing up the results of these exchanges and explanations, Stanislaw Kania called attention to the fact that the case was apparently not personal. It involved a great problem and it was only natural that it should be discussed at the plenum with such intensity. The Central Committee first secretary moved to adopt J. Brych's proposal that the Central Committee be informed in writing about the settlement of the case.

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE BLAMES CREDIT POLICY FOR ILLS

LD061324 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 April [as received] (PAP)--Poland's indebtedness to capitalist countries amounts to more than $25 billion. This indebtedness, which arose in the seventies, is the source of many economic difficulties and the subject of public criticism. Analyzing this problem, a leading Polish economic weekly, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE writes that for a time, the fact that there were more exports than imports alleviated the disproportions which existed in the Polish national economy at the beginning of the seventies and which were intensified by the faulty system of capital investments. But such a state of affairs could not go on forever. The active credit policy of the seventies contained the deceptive idea that inflation in the West was working in a positive way for Poland. The lack of moderation and know-how took its toll. First, there were manifestations of delight over the signs of success exceeding all bounds of reason, then the avalanche, which was impossible to control, came down upon them. A classic example of the pursuit of industrial modernization at all costs was, according to the weekly, the import of licenses from the West in the seventies. Approximately 10 percent of the licenses (nearly 450 of them were bought in all) were acquired despite the fact that there were domestic solutions which were by no means inferior to the foreign counterparts. The introduction of foreign innovations also led to a growth in the import of other goods necessary for utilizing these licences, and the volume of imports grew.

Industry's high import volume is now (and has been throughout the last 5 year period) the main cause of the country's indebtedness--indebtedness incurred moreover with the aims of satisfying current production supplies. Whereas in the 1971-75 5-year period more than 50 percent of all credits on average (including long-term credits received by Poland in the West) were used for capital investment, and approximately one third for acquiring raw materials, semifinished goods and supplies within the framework of cooperation for the processing industry, during the 1976-80 5-year period these proportions altered radically (to 27 and 60 percent respectively). Some 14 percent of credits were allocated for importing grain and fodder. As a radical reduction in the import volume of Poland's national economy cannot be achieved without additional capital investments, which do not seem possible in the near future, it will probably be necessary to shut down the most "dollar-consuming" sections and even entire industrial enterprises, the weekly writes.

As a result of credits of the seventies there has been undoubted modernization of the domestic production potential, but the price of this modernization was obviously far too high, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE writes in concluding the article entitled "Where Have All the Billions Gone?"

JAGIELSKI CHAIRS ECONOMIC COMMITTEE MEETING

LD061736 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers chaired by Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski today reviewed a set of problems connected with the improvement of organization and activities of Poland's foreign trade and updating the 1981 commodity deliveries between Poland the CMEA countries.

The activity of individual branches of national economy is to be channelled in such direction so as to ensure the most rational use of the means earmarked for imports.

Better use of means destined for imports is to be achieved by making dependent import possibilities of economic branches on their economic results in the implementation of their export tasks.

Also, steps were proposed that would promote the initation of programmes aimed at eliminating of excessive use of imported materials, first of all by branches which are of no fundamental importance for economy/i.e. not connected with food-and-market complex or intensification of exports/. [slantlines as received]

The committee stated that negotiations on the conclusion of trade protocols with CEMA countries made it possible to favourably shape the 1981 turnover. Imports from those countries may increase by an equivalent of $1.3 million. Almost the whole import growth will come from the USSR. Such a shape of export-import (?relations are especially favorable in the) present payment situation of Poland.

EDUCATION MINISTER, UNIVERSITY DEANS MEET 5 MAY

LD070544 Warsaw PAP in English 0809 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--The deans of Catholic universities in Poland met today with Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Professor Janusz Gorski and deputy scientific secretary in the Polish Academy of Sciences' first section, Professor Henryk Cholaj. The meeting was also attended by Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, the secretary of the Polish Episcopate and the head of the office for religious affairs, Minister Jerzy Kuberski.

The meeting was devoted to the legal status of Catholic universities in Poland. It was decided to include the deans of higher church universities in Warsaw and Krakow, Assistant Professor Kazmierz Romaniuk and Professor Marian Jaworski, into the teams working out draft laws on higher education and scholarly grades and titles.

ECONOMIC PROPOSALS, AGREEMENT WITH USSR DISCUSSED

LD061112 Warsaw PAP in English 0855 GMT 5 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 May (PAP)--Utilization of free production capacity of the Polish industry and completion of delayed investment projects by Poland's partners in the CMEA appears to be a very near possibility, GLOS PRACY reported. An agreement signed last February by Vice-Premier Henryk Kisiel and his Soviet counterpart N. Baybakov provides for new joint production undertakings to be defined by the end of 1981.

The Polish side has free production capacity in the iron and steel and the light industries. In exchange for Soviet supplies of pig iron, gas or electric energy, Poland would be able to export to the USSR part of metallurgical production obtained in that way. For additional cotton supplies Polish industry would be able to export to the Soviet Union part of the produced yarn or textiles. Moreover, concrete proposals have been submitted by the Polish side suggesting cooperation in industries such as electro-engineering, chemical, agricultural and food, as well as building materials industry. Other manufacturing cooperation proposals put forth by the Poles apply to the turning out of such goods which involved imports of products from capitalist countries.

Technical details of possible agreements are now being negotiated by ministerial expert groups of the two countries. Free production capacities of Polish industries manufacturing, among other things, such goods as lighting fixtures, cables and fans are being examined in view of Soviet demand for these commodities and the availability of raw material and semi-finished products supplies. The details now being discussed concern the volume of production and technical parametres.

The first production effects are likely to come in the fourth or even third quarter of this year. This sort of cooperation is likely to expand significantly in 1982.

Similar offers have been recently made by Poles to other CMEA member countries. The offer addressed to the German Democratic Republic envisages cooperation in the iron and steel, the chemical and engineering industries. Negotiations are underway. Like the Czechoslovak partner, the German Democratic Republic is interested in the production of colour TV components. Talks on the subject of cooperation in production are being conducted also with Romania and Bulgaria.

SOVIET WEEKLY URGES: 'TURN FLOW OF EVENTS'

LD062118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1725 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] The situation in Poland is the subject of a lengthy article which was published today by the Soviet weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The author of this article, the first of a series, is Feliks Kuznetsov.

Among other things, he states that the present crisis in our country was brought about by years of economic and ideological mistakes made by PZPR leaders.

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA writes that communists in Poland must undertake an offensive to turn the flow of events [podjac ofenzywe by odwrocic bieg wydarzen].

The commentator also observes that the present situation in Poland has been influenced not only by economic difficulties, but also by the violation of Leninist principles of morality and justice.

In conclusion, the commentator of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA writes: It is not only socialism in Poland but also its destiny and the destiny of detente and peace throughout the world which have been thrown on to the scales of history. On one side of these scales are the long-term social and national interests of Poland, the unity of the socialist community and concern for the preservation of the political stability in Europe; on the other side are the irresponsible and adventurist rightwing forces masked in ultraleftist garb ready to gamble everything on one card: peace, detente, the well-being of the Polish nation and the socialist face of Poland.

TRYBUNA LUDU ANALYZES WESTERN ATTITUDES TO NATION

LD061822 Warsaw PAP in English 1447 GMT 6 May 81

["How the West Exploits the Polish Lesson"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--Ignacy Krasicki today wrote in TRYBUNA LUDU that an analysis of the statements about Poland made in the West recently brings to mind some key conclusions.

"While fanning up the sense of uncertainty about Poland's destiny and fate, one of the Western concepts exploits the tendency to destabilize our country both in order to increase Western armaments budgets and to break the unity of the socialist states.

"The attitude of a large part of the West to Poland confirms once more the old theory, according to which peaceful coexistence is not an easing, but a stepping up of ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism.

"The situation in the Polish United Workers' Party before the 9th congress is more of a focal point for the West today than the discords within the Solidarity union, because bourgeois ideologues would like to make the best use possible of the most extreme, un-Leninist trends, to see a party of the social-democratic type emerging in Poland, a party which could function as an opposition to the present, Leninist party."

"Western ideologues are for applying an evolutionary antisocialist methodology. In Poland's case, they start their graded activities in this direction from forcing through a disintegrative interpretation of the process of political renewal in Poland. One of the ways they use to do this is by imposing their own views on the role played by the new trade unions. They also come out with suggestions aimed at destroying the leading role of the party in public life."

RFE CALLED 'PROPAGANDA MOUTHPIECE' FOR KOR

LD061552 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 May (PAP)--"Radio Free Europe's [RFE] propaganda activities are synchronized with the activities of the opponents of socialism in Poland. During certain periods--like last year's strikes, for instance--RFE becomes a propaganda mouthpiece for the political line of anti-socialist groups, such as KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee]. It also plays the role of an instruction centre for these forces and seeks to be an inspirator for the remaining social circles," wrote the army daily ZOLNEIRZ WOLNOSCI today.

"During periods like that the RFE tries to divert as many people as it can away from the state mass media and to make it difficult for people to draw right conclusions and appraisals. RFE tries to achieve this aim not only by contradicting the official media or promoting opposition material. The station also plays on psychological factors, like psychosis, fear, social unrest. At the same time, Radio Free Europe attempts to exploit every information gap, every delay by the official mass media, every ambiguity, and even gossip--a popular medium when times are rough.

"For some time now, especially since the end of the 8th PUWP CC Plenum, Radio Free Europe has stepped up its campaign of vilifying and undermining the authority of the Polish police force. A steady intensification of its attacks and systematic expansion of this propaganda line proves that this campaign has been orchestrated in advance and is designed as a premeditated process of weakening the socialist state."

"This campaign is clearly aimed to spread the view that the police, the Prosecutor's Office and organs of justice are the main opponents of socialist renewal in Poland.

"All in all, RFE's tactics during the process of socialist renewal in Poland is calculated to permanently maintain chaos and disorganization, to constantly pick new reasons and switch to new regions of the country. This is aimed to fan up strikes in circumstances when the problems at hand could be solved by negotiations.

"The station's activities are meant to dismantle the basic structures of people's power gradually and slowly, to consolidate forces opposing the party and to create obstacles in the process of rebirth and consolidation in the party and authority," wrote ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

JOINT MONGOLIAN ECONOMIC SESSION ENDS 27 APRIL

AU050650 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Apr 81 p 7

[PAP report: "The Polish-Mongolian Commission's Session Ends"]

[Text] The ninth session of the Polish-Mongolian economic and scientific-technical commission, which evaluated the implementation of the previous session's decisions and mapped out basic lines of Polish-Mongolian cooperation in 1981-85, ended on 27 April.

Poland supplies Mongolia with technical and technological blueprints and industrial equipment, as well as with specialists, including veterinary surgeons. The Polish side expressed its readiness to continue technical assistance and to supply installations in exchange for certain amounts of various Mongolian raw materials.

Poland will accept, free of charge, 75 Mongolian students for higher studies and 10 graduates with doctorates for postgraduate studies, as well as workers for further training.

Both sides note with satisfaction a positive development of trade as laid down by the 1980 trade protocol.

Polish-Mongolian trade in 1976-80 greatly exceeded the targets of the long-term accord.

The 1981-85 accord provides for the traditional supplies from Mongolia of raw and other materials, but industrial goods greatly predominate in Polish supplies to Mongolia.

The session was chaired by Vice Deputy Chairman Malinowski and Deputy Chairman Choynoryn Suren.

An interdepartmental protocol and accords were signed at the end of the session.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH NIGERIA

LD010840 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 30 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Apr (PAP)--The Polish-Nigerian mixed commission for cooperation in economy and technology, which held its second session in Warsaw from 28 to 30 April, signed a protocol spelling out the areas of mutual economic cooperation. It provides for joint work in power industry, mining, water economy, sea, inland and rail transport, agriculture, fishing, communications, building of turn-key industrial projects, construction of small industry establishments, and a number of other ventures.

In addition, the Polish side offered a wide range of services for Nigerian economy.

An important chapter of the agreement calls for economic cooperation with Nigeria's Federal Government and with the private sector.

JAPANESE DSP DELEGATION ARRIVES IN WARSAW

Visit to Gdansk

OW030529 Tokyo KYODO in English 0511 GMT 3 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, May 2 (KYODO)--Ryosaku Sasaki, chairman of the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party [DSP] currently on a tour of European countries, arrived in Warsaw from Paris Saturday afternoon.

Sasaki immediately proceeded to Gdansk where he hopes to meet with Polish Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa.

He will return to Warsaw on Sunday and meet with Polish Parliament leaders on Monday.

Solidarity Requests Support

OW040619 Tokyo KYODO in English 0610 GMT 4 May 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 May (KYODO)--The Polish labor movement Solidarity has sought political and economic support from the biggest Japanese labor organization Sohyo, and other quarters, opposition party leader Ryosaku Sasaki said Monday.

Sasaki, chairman of the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party, said Solidarity leaders made such a request when he met with them last weekend.

The leaders, including Lech Walesa, are scheduled to visit Japan May 10 at the invitation of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo).

Sasaki said the labor leaders had emphasized to him the need of pushing factory administration through a "consciousness revolution" of workers in bolstering the floundering Polish economy.

SCINTEIA ARTICLE MARKS TITO'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY

AU061415 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1102 GMT 6 May 81

["A Prominent Personality of Our Times, a Close Friend of the Romanian People"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 May (AGERPRES)--Under the above headline SCINTEIA carries in its May 6 issue a memorial article devoted to Josip Broz Tito, president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, "a great politician and statesman, a prominent campaigner of the international communist and working-class movement, a great personality of contemporary world", who departed this life a year ago. Highlighting the Yugoslav leader's contribution to the foundation and development of the unitary multinational state, to setting the great directions of socioeconomic and cultural progress of that state, he Bucharest daily stresses also the contribution of President Tito to the affirmation of new-type relations among communist and workers' parties, to the promotion of broad relations of collaboration and solidarity with all progressive, democratic forces, with the national liberation movements, his activity for the abolition of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, for the affirmation in the international arena of new relations, grounded upon the principles of independence, sovereignty, equal rights, non-immixture in the internal affairs of others, non-recourse to force and threat with force. Josip Broz Tito's name remains forever in the gallery of the great historic personalities who devoted their lives to the building of a better and more just world, writes SCIENTEIA in this context, mentioning that he was one of the founders of the non-alignment and campaigned for doing away with the bloc policy, in favour of the peoples' direct participation in the democratic settlement of all big issues of contemporary world, for the building of a new international economic order.

The article then reads:

President Josip Broz Tito was one of the best friends of the Romanian people, and that was an expression of the full community of aspirations, ideals and actions between the two parties and peoples. Romanian communists, our people have always attached utmost importance to the warm, friendly relations of great friendship and multilateral collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, between Romania and Yugoslavia.

As it is known, the strong development of these relations is the great historical doing of Nicolae Ceausescu and Josip Broz Tito. The two great leaders of the two peoples laid the firm foundations to the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration on multiple planes--economic, political, technico-scientific, cultural--and to their collaboration in the international political arena. The known friendship between the two party and state leaders, grounded on regard, respect and high mutual valuation, proved to be a decisive factor in the impetuous and fruitful development of the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration.

The summit Romanian-Yugoslav contacts and consultations in the two countries opened fresh horizons and wide prospects, brought about the improvement and lifting onto higher stages of the mutually advantageous Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation, the achievement of big joint projects, such as the Iron Gates hydro-electric power stations, which account for genuine bridges of concrete and steel for our eternal friendship.

Now, one year after the passing away of the great leader of Yugoslavia, the exemplary relations of good neighbourliness, friendship and collaboration established between the two parties and peoples proved to the full their vitality and unshakeable force, as the Romanian-Yugoslav collaboration keeps developing on multiple planes.

The Romanian people views with joy the successes scored by the peoples of sister Yugoslavia, which firmly advance on the road traced by President Tito.

Addressing a warm thought to the peoples of Yugoslavia today, the Romanian people assures them that the memory of their great son will stay forever in the hearts of communists, of all citizens of Socialist Romania. The supreme homage we pay to President Josip Broz Tito is the continued development of the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship and good neighbourliness, the strengthening of the two parties and peoples' mutual assistance in socialist and communist construction, of their collaboration in the world arena, in the interests of the two peoples and countries, of the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism, peace and progress the world over, concludes SCINTEIA.

CEAUSESCU MEETS WITH PASOK'S PAPANDREOU 6 MAY

AU061721 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today met with Andreas Papandreou, chairman of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement--PASOK, who is on a friendly visit in our country at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

The PASOK chairman expressed great words of appreciation for the untiring activity carried out by the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania devoted to promoting Romania's independence and to achieving the ideals of peace, detente, cooperation and social progress of all peoples.

The guest extended warm greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Konstandinos Karamanlis, president of the Hellenic Republic, together with best wishes.

Expressing thanks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu greeted the guest and conveyed to the leaders of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement wishes for new successes in their activity. At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the guest to convey greetings and best wishes to President Konstandinos Karamanlis.

During the ensuing talks, the two sides briefed each other about the activity and concerns of the two parties and exchanged views on current international issues. In this context, they expressed satisfaction with the fruitful cooperation between the RCP and the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and their joint desire to develop relations between them to the benefit of both parties, countries and peoples and in the interest of peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

They concluded that the development of relations between the RCP and PASOK contributes to expanding political, economic, scientific-technical and other relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hellenic Republic.

In examining current international political issues, the two sides stressed the RCP's and PASOK's concern to resolve the major problems confronting mankind and emphasized the need for sustained efforts aimed at stopping tension, resuming and continuing the policy of detente, cooperation and respect for national independence and for solving the states of tension and conflict by political means and negotiation and the need to establish new relations among countries based on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force.

In connection with the situation in Europe, the two sides stressed the importance of concluding the current Madrid meeting with positive results, so that it will contribute to the complete implementation of the provision of the final Helsinki document, that it will open the road to adopting tangible measures to achieve free cooperation on the continent and so that it will lay the basis for organizing a conference devoted to trust and disarmament.

The two sides also stressed the importance of developing cooperation in the Balkans, of turning this area into a region of good neighborliness, of understanding and bilateral and multilateral cooperation. They pointed out that intensified relations among the Balkan countries and further improving the atmosphere in this area can positively influence the overall political climate in Europe and throughout the world. They also stressed the need to halt the arms race, to adopt practical measures for military disengagement and disarmament, to halt the deployment of new nuclear missiles and weapons on the European continent and in the world and they stressed the importance of eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order that will bring about a better and more just world. They also stressed the need to strengthen the friendship, solidarity and cooperation between the communist and workers parties, between the socialist and social democratic parties and among all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for freedom, for security and disarmament, and for independence, democracy and social progress.

The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere of esteem and mutual understanding.

NETHERLANDS FINANCE MINISTER ON OFFICIAL VISIT

Meeting With Gigea

AU061856 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 May (AGERPRES)--On May 6, talks took place in Bucharest between Petre Gigea, minister of finance, and Alphons van der Stee, Netherland's minister of finance, now visiting Romania. The positive evolution of the relations between Romania and the Netherlands was pointed to, relations that witness a continuous development as a result of the fruitful Romanian-Dutch summit dialogue. The two ministers tackled fresh possibilities to expand the economic collaboration and, within it, the financial and banking relations, as well as possibilities of the two countries' cooperation within the IMF and IBRD.

Meeting With Duma

AU061926 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 May (AGERPRES)--On May 6, Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met with Alphons van der Stee, minister of finance of the Netherlands.

On the occasion, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the manysided collaboration between Romania and the Netherlands, just as the joint wish to diversify and increase exchanges and bilateral cooperation in keeping with the interests of the Romanian and Dutch peoples, of the cause of detente, peace and international understanding. Some current international questions were also approached.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS; MOJSOV GIVES REPORT

AU071124 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 7 May 81

[Excerpts] The 20th session of the LCY Central Committee is underway in Belgrade. It is discussing hostile and counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo. Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, submitted a report on the hostile and counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo.

Having recalled the true aims of these hostile activities, Lazar Mojsov pointed out that they were carefully organized by a center of a foreign agency, camouflaged with nationalist-irredentist slogans and Marxist-Leninist phrases. This foreign agency was camouflaged under the name of the Albanian Communist Marxist-Leninist Party in Yugoslavia, and its leaders and organizers will shortly appear before a people's court, Lazar Mojsov stressed.

SERBIAN LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENARY SESSION

Galovic Report Received

LD062328 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 6 May 81

["Excerpts From Report by Spiro Galovic"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--The introductory report submitted by Spiro Galovic, secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, to the joint session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has been passed on to members of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee as material for their session.

After recalling that real stabilization of the conditions in Kosovo is not possible without an open confrontation with a whole series of facts and that Albanian nationalism and irredentism were in evidence for a long period before the demonstrations, the report poses several questions which call for replies. Leaflets, slogans and verbal attacks--visible signs of nationalist intolerance for other peoples--have virtually become an everyday phenomenon. Why was the danger stemming from these phenomena underestimated by the Kosovo League of Communists and also on a wider scale in the League of Communists?

"Which are the subjective factors in the social and economic development of Kosovo which helped strengthen Albanian nationalism and irredentism?

"To what extent was the League of Communists itself affected by nationalism? And in connection with the reply to this question, what is the significance of the fact that the organizations of the League of Communists at the university virtually disintegrated?

"Has the League of Communists always had an insight into the mood of the intelligentsia, students and school youth--moods which dragged more than a small part of the youth into demonstrations? What does such behavior of the young tell us about the system of education, the ideological foundations of education and the essential contents of ideological work with youth?

"Why, in many cases, was there no militant opposition to the participants in the demonstrations? Why did self-protection fail and why was territorial defense mobilized with difficulties and only after the events had passed their culmination?

"Did the events of March and April really come about suddenly and unexpectedly? If one bears in mind everything that preceded them, the answer must be in the negative.

"What is the meaning of statements about us being surprised by the enemy's organization, preparedness and other characteristics, including his brutality? Brutality, hatred and fanaticism are the natural characteristics of nationalism. This is the same brutality which the Albanian people were exposed to in the past by Serbian nationalism. Some Serbian nationalists think that history has now proved them right and confirmed their 'forecasts' of 10 or so years ago. However, the nationalist meaning of what they said and thought about Kosovo at that time has not changed; it remains reactionary. What we have is the authentication of one nationalist lie by another nationalist lie. From the historical perspective, this lie remains just what it is for all time."

We do not know the extent to which the growth of Albanian nationalism was facilitated by the concepts of the more and less dangerous kinds of nationalism, Spiro Galovic's report goes on to say, and it notes that the same as no nationalism has been definitely defeated so there is no kind of it that is not dangerous--they are all irreconcilably opposed to the equality of nations and nationalities and to togetherness in Socialist Yugoslavia. [sentence as received] This is the reason why we must reject anything that might induce us to overlook some form of nationalism because it is allegedly a less dangerous one. If we did so, it would only be an opportunistic pretext for inconsistency. No alliance with nationalism, our own or anybody else's, can lead to anything good.

Galovic says that the communists of Kosovo, and primarily communist Albanians, must look for answers to these and other questions and we ourselves cannot shirk the obligation to take part in this. Every critical word addressed at Albanian nationalism makes us morally and politically dutybound to wage an even more resolute struggle against our own nationalism. Our avoidance of discussions in the past years is now taking its revenge on us. It is true that the discussion on nationalism is a discussion which deals with sensitive questions, but this does not justify the absence of debates or opportunism. Only those communists who are free of nationalist prejudices can defeat nationalism by means of revolutionary action. If in their leadership and broader ranks there is caution concerning nationalism, a "realism" which displays understanding for what are obviously nationalist phenomena, this is a sign that communists are sinking to petty bourgeois positions.

According to the analysis made in this report, nationalism became dangerous in our postwar history when it began to influence to a certain extent the centers of social power--economic, political and cultural. This was so in the case of Serbian, Croatian and other forms of nationalism. All this has always been linked with a certain degree of lagging in the development of self-management and increasing trends toward administrative interference with social reproduction. Nationalism grows irresistibly on the soil provided by etatist production relations, or, as Milentije Popovic said, nationalism emerges in the guise of bureaucratism.

In this connection Galovic's report points out in particular that "it is not unimportant to know the basis on which the economic and social development of Kosovo will in future be encouraged. The concentration of resources on a state basis has performed its role, is proving itself to be dated and has for a long time given rise to negative social trends. A different development policy must now be put in the forefront, one that rests on the pooling of labor and resources and which links the working class of Kosovo more firmly with the working class on the republican and Yugoslav levels." Therefore, it is important that Kosovo should develop more rapidly, and it is equally important how and on what foundations it will develop and what type of production relations will be favored in this development.

However, not everything can be justified by economic backwardness despite the fact that economic backwardness gives rise to negative social consequences and reinvigorates the conservative conscience. Referring to economic backwardness as the only fact which determines the mood and views of people is an excuse for the absence of an ideological and political struggle against nationalism.

Dwelling in his report on cooperation with Albania, Galovic notes that this cooperation has been reduced to cooperation between Kosovo and Albania. In the Yugoslav area no living links have been developed with the new institutions of Albanian national culture in Kosovo. We are to blame as much as the social and cultural factors in Kosovo for the fact that such institutions as the University in Pristina are oriented more toward Tirana than toward Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade, Skopje and Novi Sad.

Galovic goes on to recall individual moments of history and the conquest-seeking policy of the Serbian bourgeoisie and expresses the view that "Serbian nationalism mostly survives today perhaps in the form of unconcealed Albanophobia. It views the ethnic mix in the south as a tragic fact and as a dangerous threat to Serbian ethnic space. To Serbian nationalism Kosovo is only the plain on which the battle of Kosovo was fought and not the community and native soil of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and so on." On the other side the Albanian nationalists are urging the young against the Serbs and demanding an ethnically pure Kosovo. However, the idea of ethnically pure borders means counterrevolution not only in our area but also more broadly. For this reason the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, if it spreads and continues, would above all be damaging to the Albanians because the problem is not only one of the national composition of Kosovo as a community, but also of the direction of its social development.

In his report Galovic also says:

External factors are playing a part in these events but the events themselves cannot be exclusively explained as being due to external organization. No external organization can do much unless it is able to rely on some internal trend. From the point of view of the League of Communists and its responsibility, the problem is due to the constant underestimation of the political significance of phenomena and dangers and prolonged hesitation to call a spade a spade.

One of the important questions which should also be touched upon at this session--and this warrants special discussion and preparations--is the question of relations inside the Republic of Serbia as a whole. In past years there have been many problems when building in practice the kind of relations between the republic and the provinces as envisaged in the Constitution. Tendencies aimed at the provinces' complete separation from the republic have been at work What has been retained as a link is reflected more fully in the provinces' presence in the republic and their participation in the settling of questions which are of interest in the inner part of the republic. No aspects of what should, in accordance with the Constitution, be joint have been fully defined or defined only formally, so that in practice there is no joint work to be done. [sentence as received] In many important areas of the state organization and everyday political work there is hardly any real contact. The same can be said about relations in the League of Communists. The new constitutional solutions call for much more joint work and cooperation. This has been missing. Instead of confrontation we need a work analysis, so that in everyone's interests we can arrive at solutions which will signify a real and not a formal unity of the republic.

The report stresses at the end that the communists of Serbia will resolutely take a stand against any expression of mistrust toward the Albanian people. Such mistrust suits the enemy. On the basis of complete trust we shall prevent the forces which would benefit from a hostile attitude toward Serbia and Yugoslavia from penetrating the Albanian people.

Vlaskalic Speech

LD062200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--We are in the midst of a class struggle in one part of our country to maintain and continue to develop the gains of our socialist revolution.

This was emphasized by Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee, in his report to today's Central Committee session, which is discussing the causes and consequences of the events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The least sign of vacillation or hesitation, or any attempt to dilute the assessments and tasks, Vlaskalic added, would have serious consequences for the leading role of the League of Communists in our society and the self-management socialist direction of its development. Our working class and all citizens today demand decisiveness and forcefulness of the LC and a sharpening of responsibility. They demand that we enter into an open ideopolitical struggle with all opponents of our society. Mentioning sessions of state and party organs which have to date discussed the events in Kosovo, Vlaskalic said that it has been judged that it is a matter of hostile and counterrevolutionary action which, by its character, territorial scope and constant attempts to involve the masses, contained elements of an attempt at an open rebellion. This action was carried out by organized counterrevolutionary elements from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Its aim was to violate the constitutional order in the SFRY, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, to threaten the integrity of our country and to violate crudely the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. At the same time, its aim was also to destroy the system of socialist self-management and the power of working people, to threaten our country's freedom and independence and to threaten nonalignment as the foundation of our international position and foreign policy.

Through this action hostile elements and those who stand behind them strived to strike a serious blow at the SFRY, to disturb its stability and weaken its position and prestige in the world, Valskalic said.

The president of the LC of Serbia Central Committee then went on to stress that the course of events showed that the activity of counterrevolutionary forces had been prepared for a long time, tactically planned and organized. The beginning had been marked by alleged social slogans the aim of which was to achieve large-scale involvement of students and secondary school pupils. Following this, it assumed an overt counterrevolutionary character of nationalistic, irredentist and anti-Yugoslav content. Attempts were made to infiltrate among the workers, but this succeeded in only a few work organizations. There are several examples of workers themselves, Albanians, Serbs and others, even under conditions of insufficient organization, spontaneously maintaining order in their factories in order that they might in exceptional conditions maintain production, even above plan, by working in three successive shifts.

Vlaskalic then mentioned attempts to occupy some institutions and the brutality with which the counterrevolutionary activity was carried out with a view to coming closer to the intention of the organizers of provoking interference from outside. This was also confirmed unambiguously by articles in ZERI I POPULLIT, the official organ of the Albanian Workers Party, as well as by the organization of demonstrations abroad.

The president of the LC of Serbia Central Committee also recalled the measures taken by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency as well as the relevant republican and provincial organs.

The reply to the growing counterrevolutionary action was accompanied by revolutionary decisiveness and responsibility for which we had received the full support of the working people and citizens of our country and of all our friends in the world, Vlaskalic said, adding that it was the first time since the national liberation struggle that we had been confronted by counterrevolutionary terror of such dimensions and that we replied to it in the way the country's interests demanded.

The character of the activity of the forces of constitutional order was determined by the character and the degree of the use of force by enemy elements.

The energetic measures taken, along with broad political action by certain forces in Kosovo, led to the combatting of counterrevolutionary activity in its drastic form.

The enemy, however, has not been beaten definitively and does not cease its work of provocation and irredentist propaganda. Therefore, there is no room for any kind of relaxation.

We can ensure lasting political stabilization only by even more concrete and decisive political action, above all by the LC of Kosovo, Vlaskalic said and pointed out that all people of our country had been injured and deeply alarmed by those events, and therefore they today demand, more decisively than ever before, action which will consolidate the unity of the equal nations and nationalities of our country in everyday practice and which will develop this unity on a self-managing basis and on the basis of mutual association.

Political action by the LC in Kosovo, Vlaskalic went on, is in progress, and it is both wide-ranging and intensive. A large number of party members are working and struggling day and night, and this produces certain results.

At the same time, there are instances of lack of resourcefulness, vacillation and passiveness. The situation is such that every LC member must declare himself clearly, for when it is a question of counterrevolutionary events, there must not be even a trace of lack of clarity. The leadership must act more resolutely in this direction and must by strong words, clear criticism and self-criticism and organized action lead all communists into open struggle.

In this struggle the communists of Kosovo have and will continue to have the full confidence and support of the whole of the LC and of all working people and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the whole country. Their confidence and support will strengthen with the realization of a degree of criticism and self-criticism similar to that which has begun to be manifested in the Kosovo LC in the last few days, in particular at yesterday's provincial committee session.

The action by the LC following the combatting of political activity by enemy elements and the exposing of its true nature and goals must proceed further in those directions which will require the taking of initiative and offensive-like activity. Hence, the action will be the end product of the ideological training of the LC for activity to prevent enemy activity forever.

Such action by the LC demands that many questions be raised openly and that we begin to seek answers as quickly as possible through debate to how the ideological and political platform of militant activity is to be built. The precondition for this is a firm and decisive attitude on the differences among communists. We do not need any spurious unity based on opportunism, empty phrases and hypocritical behavior. What we need is true unity based on firm orientation to certain attitudes and on readiness for activity, on courage and resolve that nothing should be kept quiet. Hence, what we need is not only broad action measured in the number of meetings but, if I may say so, action which is profound in content and which will strengthen in the consciousness of every communist his conviction and resolve and clearly show for whom there is no place in LC membership.

The common denominator of all the questions which are being raised in connection with the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo is: How was it possible? The answer to this question must contain political realism and annalytical orientation in two directions.

On one hand, the enemies of the Yugoslav community and of socialist self-management exist at home and abroad, and they look for every opportunity for counterrevolutionary activity.

By proceeding from this, we cannot [words indistinct] activity in an environment consider a priori some kind of political accusation. Such an approach could lead to petit bourgeois leanings or to covering up or minimizing the phenomena of enemy manifestations and activity. On the contrary, the political strength and the instinct of the LC and the entire factor of socialist self-management must be manifested in the precision of our ideopolitical assessment and in the timely setting in motion of actions against the smallest sign of revival of the enemy.

On the other hand, the reply to this question cannot be exhausted only in the theme of operational lack of vigilance and erroneous assessments of current events or in the propaganda and influence from the People's Republic of Albania. All this, of course, is true and represents part of the answer, but it is not the whole answer, nor does it represent the heart of the matter. Therefore, in searching for answers, one must go further and deeper.

One of the answers which we owe the working people and citizens of our country is to the question on the roots and causes of the surprising presence of Albanian nationalistic consciousness in the broader sections of the young people, which could have served as the basis for the influence and the activity of counterrevolutionary elements.

Tihomir Vlaskalic then spoke about the entire dynamic development of Kosovo and said among other things that the social product of the entire economy between 1947 and 1979 had increased 6.1 times, and 2.8 times per capita. In all of the 5-year periods since 1961, the social product of the Kosovo economy has grown more quickly than the national average.

The impressive material development has also contributed to a speedy growth in the living and social standards of the population of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. Since 1951, the rate of housing construction has been increased 5 times, and today there are 237,000 apartments. The income and available resources of a family of 4 increased 3.4 times in the past 10 years.

A particularly impressive development was achieved in education, health service, culture and other social activities. These activities in the entire postwar period have been developing more quickly than economic activities. With about 50,000 students, that is, 300 students per 10,000 inhabitants, Kosovo ranks first in the country and is in the top league in the world. The speedy increase in the social standard is also confirmed by the fact that the number of inhabitants per 1 doctor was reduced from 8,527 in 1952 to 1,645 in 1979. Thus, in the socialist construction and social development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to date, the stage of pronounced underdevelopment has been overcome and material and social preconditions for further speedy development created.

The social plan of Yugoslavia and the plan documents of the province for the 1981-1985 period envisage that the social product of Kosovo should grow at an average annual rate of 7.5 to 8.5 percent, which is 60-90 percent above the national average.

With the agreement on the foundations of the social plan of Yugoslavia for the speedier development of insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and with the social plan of Yugoslavia for the 1981-1985 period, a special, considerably more favorable treatment of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in the use of the resources of the incentive policy has been determined. In 1981 a special agreement will also be concluded on the speedier development of the province in the period until 1985. The credit resources of the federal fund will be granted to Kosovo under conditions which will be 25 percent more favorable than those for insufficiently developed republics.

Kosovo's share in the resources of the federal fund will amount to 42.5 percent. With the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina taking on special obligations, this share in the resources of the fund will amount to 45 percent. In addition, supplementary resources for the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will also be ensured in the federal budget.

In addition to the direct participation in ensuring credit resources for the speedier development of the economy and nonrepayable resources for the financing of the development of social activities and services throughout the federation, the Socialist Republic of Serbia has been ensuring for Kosovo since 1952 significant resources for nonrepayable financing of [words indistinct] technical assistance, training of cadres, geological prospecting and others. Until 1977 these resources were ensured together with the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Stressing that in the dynamics of [words indistinct] the objective roots of the nationalistic consciousness of Albanian irredentism, Vlaskalic noted that such an obvious lie as the enemy slogan about "exploitation of Kosovo" would not have deceived anybody had we spoken earlier in Kosovo more and more fully about the results of the development of Kosovo and about the assistance of our entire country to that development.

From this the following conclusion can be drawn: The potential for the spread of nationalism does not depend above all, Vlaskalic said, on the level of economic development but should be sought, according to the Marxist concept of a nation, primarily in the state of social relations, in development tendencies, in the relationship of social forces and in the efficiency of the socialist subjective factors. It is here that the roots of the nationalistic consciousness should be sought in every instance, including this one.

The practice of self-managing socioeconomic relations in Kosovo developed in difficult circumstances, given the economic underdevelopment and backwardness. The objectively limiting influence of the degree of economic development on the development of self-managing relations has been exacerbated not only by the already out-dated system of stimulating speedier development of insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo but also by limiting the activity of the subjective leading factor to the etatist line of economic development and social reproduction.

The parabudgetary character of these resources (they make up two-thirds of the resources for planned reproduction in Kosovo) and insufficient use of the possibility of at least part of these resources acquiring, by direct association, a different social content have undoubtedly strengthened the role of sociopolitical communities, in particular in expanded reproduction, beyond the extent which would be in line with this level of development of self-management in our country.

In the situation which has arisen, to put it simply, the socioeconomic development of Kosovo has been above all a matter of the so-called political factor, both as regards the development of the Kosovo economy itself as well as of the ensuring of resources for its development by the federation. These are conditions in which etatist relations and bureaucratic consciousness grow stronger, as opposed to the strengthening of the practice of self-managing relations. In this context, of course, it is not a question of the bureaucratic orientation of the people but a question of objective conditions which produce bureaucratism.

One could say that the normal consequence of bureaucratism and the crucial influence of the sociopolitical community in the economy has been creating a mentality of self-sufficiency in economic development and in the very concept of development. This growth of the mentality of self-sufficiency and its practical manifestations--and they are not just a phenomena in Kosovo--have the gravest consequences for an underdeveloped and small economy, because they separate such an economy from the entirety of the system which is more developed in the technological-scientific and self-management areas.

A stronger tie with our entire economy would result in positive additional impulses for the economic development of Kosovo. And not only that, such a link introduces in the working people the class ideopolitical consciousness about their role in society and their being linked with the working class in other areas.

The absence or the insufficiency of such a linkage on the basis of self-management diverts the bureaucratic consciousness toward finding its definitive legality in the spirit of "statehood," that is, in the strengthening of state functions and attributes. This is at the same time the true social root of various forms of "isolationism" toward other environments.

Such a tendency of "statehood" leads to the underrating of the class aspect of the national question. Under such conditions the borderline between progressive national emancipation and the affirmation of the Albanian nationality on the one hand, and the spreading of the consciousness of Albanian nationalism on the other, is being clouded. This borderline has a class nature and affects social relations. Just as the emancipation of a nation and the equality of nations and nationalities is embedded in the development of self-management, so nationalism and its aggressive exclusiveness are based on etatist-bureaucratic relations.

Vlaskalic added that the development of self-management, in particular in multinational environments such as Kosovo, is also of enormous significance as regards the embedding of national equality in the very fabric of society, in social relations, in everyday life and work. He said that other causes of the spread of nationalistic consciousness should be sought in specific development problems in Kosovo in recent years. This includes the orientation toward investments in energy and raw materials and the neglecting of the development of the manufacturing industry, by which the expected development has not been ensured; low productivity and insufficient efficiency of investments have also occurred.

At the same time, the development of agriculture was neglected for a long time, and unemployment manifested itself in a very severe form.

There has also been an explosive spreading of education in the past 10 years or so, and the generation of graduated experts has little opportunity to find jobs.

Tihdmir Vlaskalic then presented the assessment that general underdevelopment could not be blamed for the problems and contradictions in Kosovo's development. What is at stake are not the problems of underdevelopment but problems created by a stormy and, in some ways, uncontrolled socioeconomic development. Therefore, the socioeconomic development in Kosovo must be analyzed and verified critically and in great detail in order that the difficulties and disproportions existing today can be overcome.

The events which took place in Kosovo, Vlaskalic emphasized, demonstrated many weaknesses in the work of the LC, both in this province and in our overall sociopolitical system. It is already clear that the Kosovo LC made serious errors when carrying out LCY policy, underestimating the danger of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and failing to fight resolutely and effectively against it. This in turn created the conditions for its penetration of the LC and other structures in our system.

In this respect serious and critical analysis lies before all of us communists, those from Kosovo in particular, he added.

The LC had lost sight of the fact that great precision was needed in intercepting all problems and that a one-sided approach to problems only feeds nationalistic sentiments.

This refers above all to the interpretation of the thesis about reducing the differences in the degree of economic development between Kosovo and the national average, an interpretation which is reduced to the attitude that the policy of the LCY with regard to the reduction of these differences is not being implemented and that the basic reason for this is the insufficient resources given to Kosovo through the fund and in other ways by the broadest social community.

The political consequences of such an interpretation are very serious, because public opinion is being created which is one-sided and not fully acquainted with the underdevelopment of Kosovo, while, on the other hand, the impression is being created that the main reason for Kosovo's underdevelopment lies in inconsistencies or resistance to the LCY policy in the country.

Such interpretations of the problems of Kosovo's development by the uninformed, in particular among young people, act in the same way as the slogan about the "exploitation of Kosovo" in the creation of political malaise.

Vlaskalic then spoke about relations with Albania which, as he emphasized, had been reduced in many spheres--through lack of control and an uncritical attitude toward Albanian initiatives to relations between Kosovo and Albania. Such an approach to interstate relations objectively brought a narrow area of national problems into the center of these relations which, as is evident today, permitted ideological influence from Albania in the shape of nationalistic and irredentist indoctrination. At the same time there was a lack of organized and detailed ideological work in Kosovo on exposing the Stalinist system in Albania and the publicly manifested territorial claims to parts of our country.

On the other hand, the LC in Kosovo and other subjective forces had not waged a sufficiently energetic, decisive and open ideo-political struggle against greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

In recent years, particularly since 1974, several groups and individuals have been uncovered who are involved in hostile work from positions of nationalism and irredentism. This is occurring increasingly more frequently, more publicly and with increasingly more people involved. Instead of a sharpening of the ideopolitical struggle against greater Albanian nationalism, pronounced opportunism and lack of vigilance have been in evidence.

Vlaskalic said that the question which had to be asked was whether it was necessary to see, in connection with the ideological struggle and differentiation following similar events in 1968, whether part of the causes of the actual attack by irredentist nationalism, in particular at universities and schools, lay in the possible slackness of the differentiation process carried out at that time.

It is now clear that the syllabuses, textbooks as well as pedagogical and other activities by some teachers and professors must be subjected to a serious, critical check, from a clear Marxist position and from the position of the struggle for the consciousness of socialist self-management and brotherhood and unity in young generations. What is at stake are not merely textbooks and professors from the People's Republic of Albania who had, in an incomprehensible way, free space to indoctrinate young people.

Everything that produces reactionary consciousness of dogmatic etatism and greater Albanian nationalism must be eliminated. The young generation must free itself from this pressure of indoctrination and must be educated in the spirit of socialist self-management, in the spirit of equality, brotherhood and unity, in the spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism. It is with equal resolve and firmness that the question of the platform of activity by individuals in the information media, in cultural and scientific institutions, in periodicals and newspapers in these spheres must be raised.

The struggle against Albanian nationalistic consciousness, in particular among the young who have been deceived, must not be a sectarian or a bureaucratic one; it must be constant, it must take place every day and must be substantiated by Marxist arguments. The basic condition of success of such ideological work is a powerful and broad opening up of education, science and culture in Kosovo toward the Yugoslav community, cooperation and direct links between schools and periodicals, between people and institutions and the opening up of broad horizons of social, cultural and scientific progress. Only with such an opening up and with full equality in cooperation shall we overcome nationalistic narrowmindedness and mystifications.

It is with the same strength and persistence that young Albanians above all should be led into the struggle for self-management, for socialist democracy, for that with which the Albanian nationality too, as part of our community together with other nations and nationalities, paves new ways to social progress in the world. We must do everything possible to make these young people see the emancipation and affirmation of their nationality in the development of socialist self-management, in the struggle against bureaucratic etatism, dogmatism and nationalistic exclusiveness.

An important base of the struggle against irredentist nationalism must also be the very precise unmasking of its ideological and political platform which had been very clearly manifested in its basic slogan. Slogans such as "we want a republic by hook or by crook," "exploitation of Kosovo" as well as a series of slogans which deal with an "ethnically pure Kosovo" are clearly directed against other nations and nationalities, in particular against Serbs and Montenegrins, and represent an indivisible whole.

The slogan about "exploitation" was intended to provide the material and economic foundation for the slogan about the "republic," while both these slogans are complemented by the thesis about "ethnic purity," which has always had an exclusively fascist social character.

We must state here that there are no more or less dangerous slogans about the "republic" or that the slogan which refers only to the territory of Kosovo is more innocent than the one which demands the annexation to this "republic" of the parts of Macedonia and Montenegro having an Albanian population. We proceed from the fact that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has in the SFRY its republic--the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Vlaskalic noted and went on to add that every slogan about the "republic" in Kosovo is directed against the constitutional order of our country. None of our people will accept the reshaping of borders inside our country when this is demanded either by greater Serbian, greater Albanian or any other kind of nationalism.

Tihomir Vlaskalic then spoke about the tense situation in intranational relations which has been created in the life and work of the various nationalities of Yugoslavia. One of the consequences of this situation is the disposition toward emigration of members of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, who see prospects for their life and work outside these relations. Complete precision is needed in connection with this issue. Serbian communists resolutely opposed the thesis of "emigration of Serbs from Kosovo" more than 10 years ago, when it was an expression and means of greater Serbian nationalism in its resistance to the League of Communists struggle for the equality of the Albanian people in everyday life, employment, education, culture and self-management in Kosovo itself. Albanian communists, Vlaskalic stressed, need to use the same resolve to open up the struggle against those situations in which greater Albanian nationalism in various forms creates insecurity for the non-Albanian population in Kosovo.

The passive attitude and insufficient militancy in the struggle against nationalism also has its roots in the many weaknesses in the League of Communists of Kosovo. Decision-making by committee, as a logical continuation of the phenomena of strengthening etatist relations and bureaucratic consciousness, has made the basic party organizations passive and has weakened their autonomy and initiative in concrete ideological struggle.

This has led to the decreasing influence of the League of Communists among the grassroots of society, the working people and citizens and in the institutions of the self-managing system. All these phenomena have affected to an even greater extent the youth organization and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, whose breadth and mass character should represent the organized and democratic foundations of our stability.

The weaknesses of the Kosovo League of Communists reached their peak during the counter-revolutionary events themselves. Erroneous political assessments, vacillation and delays in correct appraisals, slowness and lack of resolve in action have their real roots in more permanent, present weaknesses. During decisive moments things were not seen clearly nor were they assessed accurately because this would have required at the same time a consideration of many of the weaknesses and shortcomings of earlier political work. Hence, the incomplete information during the very events, and the fear that the public (and that means our working people) might find out what was really happening in Pristina and other municipalities, Vlaskalic said.

I think that the criticism voiced by party organizations and by broader public circles concerning the delayed and incomplete information on these events must be accepted. These comments stem from a feeling of concern and joint responsibility for the situation in the country.

Members of the League of Communists did not demonstrate the militancy and resolve expected of them, particularly in areas where the activity of the enemy was openly manifested. This led to a series of weaknesses in the functioning of our system, especially in the functioning of territorial defense and social self-protection.

Vlaskalic then said: This realization obliges the Kosovo League of Communists and its leading organs to raise quite specifically the issue of personal and collective responsibility, which is one of the conditions for differentiation and the development of a new platform and directions for action which--through the open struggle with bureaucratism and nationalism--will lead to more lasting political stabilization and the most rapid and complete development possible of Kosovo on self-management bases.

Vlaskalic said that action should be directed "at the very heart of the matter. This is at the development of the practice of socialist self-management and an energetic break with etatist relations and bureaucratic types of behavior."

He said that the class interests of workers of all nations and nationalities must be interpreted and ensured every day, on the spot, with the living word. The League of Communists must lead workers into the struggle against technocratism and bureaucratism and nationalistic consciousness. Such action will quickly disappoint the greater Albanian nationalists and show them how narrow their social grassroots are. Thus, it will be in deeds that the real socialist orientation of the Albanian working masses will be manifested.

Continuing his report, Vlaskalic said that one of the most important tasks is the speedier development of the system of stimulating insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, along with ensuring the development of self-managing socio-economic relations and stimulating associating and linking up.

We must charge all relevant organs of the republic and of the province to speed up and expand their practical work in this direction, Vlaskalic said in expressing his conviction that associating and linking up on the basis of self-management will, by the power of its economic logic, correct and complement the concept of economic development in attaining quicker solutions to existing problems.

The consolidation of togetherness, equality and linking up in our republic demands that negotiations be continued and the processes of implementing the constitutional concept of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the autonomy of the provinces on the established constitutional foundations be speeded up, Vlaskalic said. He added that in our constitutional system the provinces represent an integral part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and a constitutive element of the Yugoslav Federation and that this also represents the basis and the point of departure in our future work on these issues.

Therefore, we must see the nature of the problem which is before us in a concrete and practical manner, while solutions should be sought in daily practice and work without hasty and unnecessary politicization of the disputes which may arise.

Vlaskalic stressed the need to train the League of Communists of Kosovo to strengthen its role as the leading force of working people and citizens. In this respect it is necessary that the League of Communists be trained completely and ideologically regarding actions and cadres, from the basic organizations to the leaderships.

The ideological struggle and steadfastness which the League of Communists of Kosovo is now developing against irredentist nationalism demands and will continue to demand the systematic, daily ideological work and Marxist education of party members, organized propaganda activity concerning the affirmation of socialist self-management, and the togetherness of our nations and nationalities.

The unity of the LCY must be expressed in the practice of democratic centralism, in timely and complete information, in the democratic adoption of attitudes and in their consistent and efficient implementation.

For our Yugoslav community, therefore, every nationalism and all nationalism together represent the greatest enemy of our unity and of our strength, of our independence and freedom, Vlaskalic said. He noted that without development and the strengthening of socialist self-management there can be no national equality; in its place we will have nationalism and intranational conflicts.

Although we knew that, both from the theory and from the grave experiences of the past, Vlaskalic said, we are again, in connection with the events in Kosovo, in a situation in which we note that socialist subjective forces as a whole, and the League of Communists in particular, experience the gravest defeats when they forget and underrate the struggle against nationalism in their own nation. This is precisely what happened in Kosovo. Nationalistic phenomena and events had been underrated for some time and growing tendencies of nationalism, in particular in the ranks of the young people, had been kept quiet and concealed.

The League of Communists allowed space to be opened up for the enemy to bring nationalistic contagion into not insignificant groups of young Albanians. This truth cannot be avoided today nor stated ambiguously. But, Vlaskalic emphasized, we would like to say directly together with it that we censure in the same way some attempts by nationalists in the Serbian people who today recall their old nationalistic speeches and refer to the disastrous settling of accounts with the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia. They offer the Serbian people hatred toward Albanians and fascist methods of settling accounts and genocide, and then, on the other hand, speak about humanism and democracy.

Not only Serbian communists but the Serbian people, too, have already determined both the place and the page in their history for such people. This is not the page where Svetozar Markovic, Dimitrije Tucovic and numerous other Serbian revolutionaries and fighter-communists are mentioned, but on the contrary, the page of dynasty, reaction and Serbian bourgeoisie.

The League of Communists of Serbia pursues a policy of equality for the Albanian nationality in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and advocates and promotes its economic and cultural progress on the basis of socialist self-management and unity.

It will continue such a policy in an even more decisive manner.

Recent days, speaking generally--and the events in Kosovo are practical proof of it--warn us that the plans and the indications by various enemies of Yugoslavia for the post-Tito period are not mere threats and attempts by intimidation. They are organizing themselves abroad, those in the country are holding discussions and acting. They are offering new platforms for a different social development, they are recruiting your people, they are giving humiliating interviews to foreign press against their country, etc.

Of course, they do not represent a real danger to our security, but only if we do not let them have the initiative and room, if we oppose them in every area and if we resolve with decisiveness and firmness the topical and long-term problems of the development of our society.

But precisely in this area, Vlaskalic noted, we have considerable weaknesses.

There are quite a few areas and League of Communists Organizations in which the dominant atmosphere was easiness and sluggishness," a slow rhythm of agreement-seeking and resolution of problems, and even of more serious manifestations of lack of responsibility.

These are not good tendencies and instances in the party in general, particularly at this complex time of internal economic and political difficulties. He said that we need to act to ensure that the party is constantly the driving force of the working masses, as Comrade Tito frequently put it.

The many members of the the Serbia League of Communists must not soothe or deceive us. Not only mistakes but also inactivity and lack of work are incompatible with membership in the party. We need a militant and active cross section of members of the party today.

At the end of his report, Vlaskalic said that enemy and counterrevolutionary actions are not only a question of social and political stability in the Province of Kosovo, but that they also meant an attempt to attack the stability and constitutional integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the whole of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the stabilization of the situation and the further development of that party of our society cannot be shifted only on the League of Communists, and the socialist forces of Kosovo and their leadership, though their responsibility and obligations are exceptional and the greatest.

But, they will not be alone. We consider it to be our obligation, Vlaskalic stressed, to extend full support and assistance to the League of Communists of Kosovo and all its leadership to combat enemy forces and their illegal organizations, to mobilize the entire League of Communists of Kosovo in eliminating problems and the grave consequences which have arisen in intranational relations, to reestablish disrupted mutual trust in the people living there, to prevent the growth of an anti-Albanian mood in the Serbian people and to continue the economic and cultural progress of the entire province on the basis of self-management and national equality.

In this we must be conscious and realistic in the assessment that the past events and the present tense situation in Kosovo have caused deep disruptions and have left scars which will survive for a long time.

Therefore, the stabilization process will not be easy and will require considerable time and much energetic and patient political activity. This is precisely the reason why we have to be united and energetic in the enormous work and obligations which we now face, Tihomir Vlaskalic said at the end of his speech.

Other Proceedings Reported

LD062344 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 6 May 81

[Report on speeches by participants at the 6 May plenary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, in Belgrade]

[Excerpts] [No dateline received] Emphasizing that the report by the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia analyzes the causes and consequences of the events in Kosovo in a principled manner and that yesterday's session of the provincial committee serves as a great encouragement for further action by the League of Communists, Ratko Butulija, who was the first to speak in the discussion at the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, noted that it was not easy to make a correct political assessment of complex phenomena and tendencies. However, if certain phenomena appear frequently, if they are easily passed over and if the League of Communists underestimates their importance, then there is no justification for this attitude. These mistakes have, above all, been made by the League of Communists of Kosovo and by its leadership, but we must openly say that the situation in Kosovo was not fully assessed by the organs of the League of Communists of Serbia nor by the LCY. The lessons for action must be learned from these circumstances.

Butulija then noted that in recent years the League of Communists as a whole dealt insufficiently with the practical implementation of LCY policy in the field of intranational relations. The Kosovo events have shown that by neglecting their class contents the criterion for distinguishing between the 'national' and the 'nationalistic' was lost. Some of the youth supported the enemy slogans, known already from the past, because there was a lack of action on the part of the League of Communists as well as a lack of struggle for practical implementation of its policy. As communists, Butulija said, at no time and in no place must we allow the nationalists to dictate the themes for conversation. Any nationalism must be opposed openly, without any prejudice and without declaring certain questions as taboo.

Pointing out the salient points from yesterday's session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Petar Kostic emphasized that the session expressed resolute readiness to defend the achievements of socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia in a consistent and dignified manner.

Kostic emphasized that the security situation in the province continues to be serious, that the process of political differentiation is not satisfactory everywhere and that the League of Communists must also get rid of members who, because of their opportunism, should not be in it.

Milos Minic pointed out the identity of views expressed in the analyses and assessments at yesterday's session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and those in Vlaskalic's report. According to him, this is of great importance because it guarantees unity of action in normalizing the political and social situation in Kosovo. This action is necessary because all available information shows that while the enemy has been undermined it has not been destroyed. The wide political action, which has already lasted for a month, produced initial results in unmasking the Albanian irredentism but the real ideopolitical action is yet to come. The Provincial Committee session shows the ability to look the truth in the eye and the readiness to grasp mistakes and shortcomings. It also shows the ability to implement the set tasks and in this the League of Communists of Kosovo will enjoy full support of the League of Communists and the working people throughout Yugoslavia, above all in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Nationalism also existed in other places and in Kosovo earlier on, Minic said, but it was always defeated. Minic described the political and social confrontation in the province as the most important task at the moment.

To ensure success in the joint action of the communists, of the working people and all socialist forces of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia, it is necessary to elaborate an action program as soon as possible to eliminate the consequences of the Kosovo events--otherwise it might happen that the fire is being extinguished in vain. It is necessary to elaborate all aspects of a well thought-out struggle which will narrow the space for irredentist activity. The responsible bodies and organs of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia must also again consider the directions of Kosovo's development and remove all that is not in keeping with the solution of the sociopolitical and economic problems in the province.

The linkage of the economy of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and other republics and provinces in associating work and resources with associated labor in the province should also be speeded up. Finally, it is necessary to embark as soon as possible on political education in keeping with the LCY policy. This is a long-term task but it is essential for the elimination of all kinds of nationalism, especially among youth. In brief, it is necessary to pass from the current campaign to unmask irredentism to planned work for a thorough elimination of all difficulties.

Minic then pointed out that the Kosovo events had caused concern among all working people in Yugoslavia, while also giving encouragement to the nationalists in Serbia. It is exceptionally important for the League of Communists of Serbia to emphasize that there is a clear difference between concern and chauvinism, which the entire Albanian nationality identifies with irredentism. The Serbian nationalists are not numerous but they can cause great damage unless we check them in good time. In this struggle it is necessary to reckon with the resilience of the enemy because he is wrapped in the 'Marxist attire', although his reactionary character is no different from the one of the Ballists and Zogists [followers of King Zog]. National affirmation, therefore, must be clearly separated from nationalism, Minic said, adding that the greatest mistake of the League of Communists of Kosovo and its leadership was that it did not draw this line and wage an uncompromising struggle in good time. Thus, the door was wide open to nationalism because the irredentists identified themselves with the protagonists of national interests.

The Kosovo events represent a lesson for the entire LCY, Minic said, because other environments are also not immune from numerous weaknesses. Minic also emphasized that the situation in the League of Communists of Serbia was a key factor as regards the lack of corresponding links with Kosovo and that special responsibility was, therefore, also borne by the leaderships of both the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Kosovo. They must at the same time also be the protagonists of activity which will bring about positive changes.

The communists and working people of Kosovo expect from the League of Communists of Serbia and this important Central Committee session help in the struggle against hostile forces and in consolidating the situation in the province. This was emphasized by Kurtes Salihu at the beginning of his speech, in which he supported the assessment made in the report by Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic. The recent intensive work with the masses in Kosovo has shown that all nations and nationalities of Kosovo, and above all the Albanians, firmly support Tito's course and self-managing nonaligned Yugoslavia which is the most important condition for overcoming the present situation in Kosovo. The Albanian nationality is aware that it gained equality in Tito's Yugoslavia and that the results in national affirmation are due to the development of socialist self-management and the League of Communists' struggle for the implementation of full national equality.

Referring to the activity of hostile groups which have succeeded in winning over a considerable number of youths and some workers, Salihu said that the enemy strived by all means to get the people on the streets. This is why the slogans had a hidden social character, while workers and peasants were told that "they are killing children" in order to involve them in the demonstrations as well.

The enemy also did not refrain from open criminal pressure and threats that anyone who did not join the demonstrations would have his home set on fire.

However, the League of Communists of Kosovo also showed serious shortcomings in its work. Thus, for instance, in the last 10 years the Provincial Organization of the League of Communists doubled the number of members, of whom 42 percent are under 27 years of age, insufficient attention was paid to their ideopolitical education. It is also a fact that there are not enough workers in the structure of the League of Communists of Kosovo, which cannot be explained only by the relatively small working class in the province but also by insufficient concern for the class composition of the League of Communists. There was also lack of mass ideopolitical work which can be seen, according to Salihu, from the positive reaction and response of the people at meetings which are now being held in numerous environments. The results achieved in the development of the province were not emphasized. In the main, problems were emphasized. There was little explanation of the constitutional position of the province in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation, while difficulties in agreement-making between the republics and provinces as regards the policy of development of the underdeveloped republics and Kosovo were magnified, Kurtes Salihu said.

The lessons which should be learned at this time are not of a momentary but of a permanent character, Ivan Stambolic said. He emphasized that the problems which appeared in Kosovo did not only concern the Kosovo communists but also the League of Communists of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The events have shown that the present level of openness, critical approach and realism in assessing the situation in Kosovo was not in keeping with reality. We had an erroneous picture and are now faced with the situation as it is.

Speaking about the passive, uncertain and hesitant attitude in the struggle for a more successful functioning of the system and the implementation of current policy, Stambolic emphasized that we have never answered the question of what has been hindering faster development in Kosovo. We never dealt with this in the republic nor in the federation, nor have the comrades from Kosovo demanded it. Why did the narrowing of differences in the conditions of development increase the differences in the results of development? We know that the volume of resources alone is not the problem and yet we have reduced everything to this.

This imposed the debate on the so-called "little and much," between the representatives of the developed and the undeveloped. Why was it that all together we either could not, or did not know how, or did not want to determine common criteria and indications of economic development, over a period of 5 years.

We do not have a comprehensive strategy of regional development. It was, in practice, limited to the demand for faster development of the insufficiently developed in order to narrow the differences. In this, however, we never clarified what we meant by narrowing the differences, whether this applied to the conditions or to the results of development. In these circumstances, the great results achieved in the development of Kosovo remained in the shadow of its leadership's struggle for the largest possible resources from the federation's fund. In spite of the facts, although Kosovo achieved the greatest development progress in its history thanks to the postwar accelerated construction, this fact also remained in the shadow. Subjective weaknesses in Kosovo itself were also concealed in this shadow. (We must also answer the question of why republican and Yugoslav leaderships have shirked and refrained from referring to these questions. Was it because such rare attempts were interpreted as a threat to the autonomy of the province? Can we explain and justify our opportunism with this?) [TANJUG parentheses]

The League of Communists of Serbia, especially its leadership, carries part of the responsibility for what is happening in Kosovo, Ivan Stambolic added.

The means, methods and forms of struggle against the greater-Serbian nationalism have been successfully worked out in the League of Communists of Serbia. We must continue to incapacitate its exponents. Here we will not go wrong even if we "use salt excessively." However, the ideological, political propaganda and other forms of struggle against other kinds of nationalism--especially in the conditions of such a specific state and sociopolitical community as the Socialist Republic of Serbia--has been neglected.

We underestimated the threat from Albanian nationalism and did not discuss it in the right way, at the right time and in the right places.

Stambolic advocated the use of terms which have a quite definite class self-managing social meaning, because the unclear and uncritical use of terms such as, for instance, the "strengthening of autonomy," "complete autonomy," and so forth, represents a bag into which everything and anything can be stuffed. This happens also when people onesidedly think and assert that "relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia can be based only on self-managing agreement-seeking and social consultations."

It is in the light of all these facts that we should today look at the meaning of the slogan "we want a republic," and other anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav slogans. Stambolic went on and asked whether it was realistic, whether it was possible to maintain the essential elements of Yugoslavia's federal order if the organization of economic life were based only on the principle of the so-called national economies to which the simplified interpretation of decentralization and de-estatization had led.

Dangers of this kind exist in Yugoslavia as a whole, but they manifest themselves in Serbia more easily, more visibly and more rapidly, especially since the provinces were defined as a part of federalism and sociopolitical communities within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Speaking about the uncritical endorsement on the balancing of the national economies, Stambolic said:

Hasn't this meant that within federalism, the provinces have begun to grow stronger not only as part of a national state as we understand it in our social and state system--for instance their economic functions as sociopolitical communities--but also as understood by international and bourgeois law? Isn't this where we also find the causes and roots of such slogans as "we want a republic," the roots of the elements of statist autonomism?

The gap in the realization of federalism among the provinces in the federation is very small. They are in practice on an equal footing with the republic. However, with reference to the realization of the province as a part of the republic, the gap is an obvious and wide one. Its existence can be established and proved in many ways.

The question now, Stambolic said, is why certain business and other obligations concerning the formulation of joint policy and certain constitutional obligations and significant current economic tasks in the republic have not been dealt with yet.

Recalling previous discussions, Stambolic said that in 1977 certain comrades wanted to see things settled without the essence of the matter being clarified in the process.

This was primarily due to the fact that the initiatives aimed at a fundamental, complete consideration of the constitutional makeup of Serbia were seen and were interpreted as being "efforts to restrict the rights of the provinces from the point of view of the statehood of the Socialist Republic of Serbia." For this reason, the discussions held at that time did not yield the one single clear answer whose significance we understand only now: that the socialist autonomous provinces are not and cannot be state communities as the republics are. We did not state clearly and resolutely at the time that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo have their own republic, their own state community--the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Instead of discussing the essence of the constitutional makeup of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and on that basis, solving outstanding questions, Stambolic continued, we had the kind of political atmosphere in which questions could, on the whole, be tackled only in a practical manner, one by one, without it being seen where the resolution of these questions in this manner would lead us. On top of all this, we excluded from discussions the kind of expert and scientific work which could provide a defense against subjectivism. Solutions were also achieved through a momentary balance of forces and authority wielded by offices and personalities. We met as many as 20 times to discuss certain questions. People generally stuck to existing differences and became intransigent. All this further strained relations in the republic. Today we have a situation in which cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and our other republics is proceeding more successfully than cooperation within the republic.

Emphasizing that in the period from 1977 there had been a pronounced (?integration) of economic life and development based on association, Stambolic also dwelt on cooperation concerning legislative regulations, the development of the political system and relations and on the regularization of new joint areas and functions of cooperation which seemed to be leading to something that could be called the federalization of the republic, because many proposals could only have been adopted if the so-called core area of Serbia had constituted itself as a sociopolitical community. Under the weight of these unsolved questions, the need for the basic necessities of life, and obvious differences in interpreting the Constitution, we even started thinking about this as a pragmatic solution.

These events in Kosovo, Stambolic said, are a clear warning against the far-reaching, dangerous internal and foreign political consequences which all this could have in these historical conditions. This is why one cannot place the blame for the differences in the adoption of the law on, for instance, citizenship, the plan, the executive council, the republican organs of administration, national defense or the financing of joint functions only on lawyers and their so-called formalist approach or on the narrow views of departmental organs and specialized services. These differences cannot be explained or dismissed in this way.

Stressing that questions and problems existed and that they really had a broader and deeper present and long-term political and social significance, Stambolic also mentioned the social plan and self-management planning as one of them, noting that Serbia was doing no work and was today not in the position to do any work on the definition and formulation of the joint strategy of socioeconomic development as a whole because of the differences in interpreting the Constitution. It was well known that without economic cooperation, there could be no other kinds of cooperation.

There is a dispute among us concerning the views on and interpretations of the functions and content of the social plan for Serbia. Ostensibly it is only a dispute over the interpretation of the legal foundations for the adoption of the plan, but in fact it illustrates our different views on the republic as a state community and a sociopolitical community.

As an example, Stambolic mentioned a proposal to set up a joint expert-political working body which would continue to work on the preparation of the draft law on national defense and the refusal by telegram to appoint a representative to the Executive Council of the provincial assembly. Instead, it was suggested that departmental organs should continue to work on this task. At the same time, Stambolic said, we in the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic in Serbia announce that the preparations for the adoption of the provincial law are in their final stage.

Speaking about the work on establishing the duration of the term of service for holders of individual political offices, Stambolic pointed out that fundamental questions of the true collective work in the republican organs on joint tasks or special problems have not yet been considered. Today we have a situation in which members of these organs who come from the provinces are far better acquainted with the conditions throughout the republic because political activity is evenly divided between what goes on outside the province and within it. In the republic they mainly take part in discussions on questions which are not of any direct interest to thier province. The other members of these same republican leaderships and organs rarely visit the provinces.

This is why we must not underestimate the negative political consequences of the arbitrary naming of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, especially its core area. We come across them every day in articles and speeches by political people, in official documents, in the press and on television, in publications and in specialized texts. They clash with or run counter to the basic spirit of the Constitution, because for instance what can "inner Serbia" or "Serbia without the provinces" mean if the fundamental orientation of the socialist republics has been excluded.

All these are questions, Stambolic said, that cannot be passed over in a routine or opportunist manner. We must speak openly about them and have a clear political attitude on them otherwise the nationalists will build their manipulations on our socalled small omissions.

Commenting once more on the months-long discussions held in 1977, Stambolic said that they had left behind numerous inconsistencies, dilemmas and differences which have not been resolved and thus we only have an ostensible unity of views on certain very important concrete questions and solutions.

One cannot answer in one speech the question posed today about the origin of the "loose links" between the provinces and the republic. Here one needs a collective reply and one needs a principled, complete and consistent reply. In the interpretation and application of the constitutions of Serbia and the provinces there are great differences which should be democratically discussed.

Stambolic called for a thorough discussion and analysis of the social entity, of social relations, political and economic relations and the distribution of the political forces both in Kosovo and in the republic.

This all the more so, Ivan Stambolic said, as the causes of the social upheavals in Kosovo do not lie in the objective problems of economic development, but in the attitude adopted toward them by the League of Communists in the way in which it viewed and interpreted them and contributed to their solution.

For years, Dusan Ckrebic said, we believed that our system and development progress in Kosovo were sufficient by themselves and that this represented a defense against nationalism. However, nationalism is blind to arguments and will rant about the alleged exploitation of Kosovo, although it is well known that Kosovo is developing with the help of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the entire country.

Ckrebic advocated that we should present and unmask the essence of the system in neighboring Albania to all our peoples and nationalities, especially Albanian; that we should stop acting as "being in love with our own system" because nationalism is exploiting every omission in information and ideopolitical work. A large number of meetings are now being held in Serbia and throughout the country in connection with the Kosovo events and they usually begin with the question: How was it all possible? On this, Ckrebic pointed out that nationalism and irredentism in Kosovo were underestimated and even hushed up and that the true situation was not known in Serbia. Kosovo did not ask earlier for any help from Serbia or the federation in the struggle against hostile forces, which was a poor service to our entire community. This, according to Ckrebic, is a special question which also demands special attention.

The development of Kosovo was very fast and for the most part successful. Much more is being said about this now than before and young people were especially badly informed about it.

As to the slogan "Kosovo republic," Ckrebic said that this was in fact leading to the creation of "greater Albania" and that autonomy was not even a guarantee for the development of Kosovo. According to the Constitution, a republic is a state, while a province is a sociopolitical community so that it is obvious that this slogan aims at achieving a state which would then join Albania. As to relations within the republic, Ckrebic noted that there was a stagnation in implementing constitutional solutions. The Kosovo events startled us and compelled us to think about the establishment of wider cooperation and relations within the republic. In this connection, he proposed that the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, in cooperation with the provincial presidiums of the League of Communists, should prepare for talks on this theme.

Speaking about the events in Kosovo, Dusan Alimpic noted that the counterrevolutionary activity was widely condemned throughout the country but that it was not yet fully neutralized. Every nationalism, Alimpic said, provokes another and every one is dangerous because it seeks ties with all opposition and anti-self-managing forces.

As to relations between the republics and provinces, he emphasized that there could be no other solutions than those determined at the 11th LCY Congress. These questions must also be solved within the framework of the Republic of Serbia, bearing in mind that excessive emphasis on statehood may also intensify provincial etatism.

Although the demonstrations were well-organized and planned, most of the workers were not involved in them, Husamedin Azemi said. The Kosovo working class has the strength and ability to settle the situation in its own house and to say what kind of university it needs, what kind of cultural and education institutions and what kind of schools. A small number of workers was involved in the demonstrations, he said, most of them deceived by such demagogic slogans as "if you join the demonstrations, wages will be increased." These workers, Azemi said, were mainly unskilled with low personal incomes.

Azemi pointed out that a lesson for the future must be learned from the escalation of nationalism so that the situation will not repeat itself. There should be no repeat of the excesses so that the problems can continue to be solved.

The working class of Kosovo, Azemi said in conclusion, will succeed in defeating the enemy. Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Muslims and all other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, will strengthen the unity and self-management of the nonaligned Socialist Yugoslavia.

The assessment made about the demonstrations in Kosovo--that it was a question of counter-revolution--means that this was an action which had been prepared over a long time and that conditions existed for it. The discussion about the reasons for counterrevolution must therefore be wide and complete. It must intensify the question of responsibility and make differentiation possible within the League of Communists, Zarko Papic observed.

This differentiation means, according to Zarko, that it is above all necessary to expel enemies who penetrated the party. This can provide concrete direction for action and lessons can be learned from these events. One of the lessons should be that responsibility is not borne by all because if this is so, then nobody is responsible, Papic said.

The concrete message of these events is that it is necessary to discuss the problem of autarchy and statist bureaucratism which supports nationalism.

Papic advocated an early implementation of the legal requirements that 50 percent of resources destined for the development of Kosovo should be carried out through associated works. This will, in his opinion, encourage more efficacious development.

He also referred to the need for a general intensification of ideological work in the League of Communists, noting that it was not accidental that in Kosovo, greater Albanian nationalism was linked with Stalinist dogmatism which manipulated social problems. The link between the ultraleft and nationalism, he pointed out, also exists in other environments. An open and direct ideological struggle with this kind of consciousness would facilitate the strengthening of self-managing democracy, Papic concluded.

Ilijaz Kurtesi emphasized that the wave of hostile activity had been checked but that great and complex tasks remained for a complete settlement of the situation in Kosovo. For this, it is also necessary to make a deeper analysis of individual questions which are important to elaborate the strategy and tactics of further struggle. Apart from concluding that poor work by the League of Communists and its leadership is one of the causes for events in Kosovo, it is also necessary to look at the basic organization of the League of Communists, at questions which it is dealing with and whether it is capable of standing up to negative tendencies and phenomena.

Kurtesi emphasized that the further development of self-managing relations on the basis of the Constitution and the law on associated labor was a key question. He pointed to education and especially to the university as an area where there were the most shortcomings. There were also shortcomings in the cadre policy. Commenting on the slogan demanding a republic, Kurtesi said that the demonstrators in fact did not care so much about a republic as about demolishing the system. Speaking about the development of Kosovo, he emphasized that full attention should be paid to the building of relations which interest the developed and the undeveloped, adding that such relations can be established by associating work and resources.

Every bad thing has its good side, Milomir Petrovic said, observing that the Kosovo events contributed to a proper discussion about many problems and correct identification of various phenomena. He emphasized that in the future more attention should be paid to isolation and group-ownership bahvior which has not been done so far. Some areas even believed that less cooperation meant more independence which contributed to the strengthening of nationalism. Referring to the situation at the university in Pristina, Petrovic said that all those who did not struggle for brotherhood and unity must leave their chairs.

There is no place for careerists and opportunists in the League of Communists, Dusanka Pjevac said. She especially referred to the behavior of those who allowed someone to remove Tito's picture, emphasizing that there was no justification for such behavior. Speaking about information, Pjevac emphasized that timely information would also prevent the dissemination of lies and disinformation which, referring to events in Kosovo, did happen and is still happening.

Svetomir Stozinic criticized patronage in the cadre policy which is frequently based on nationalism. It happened, he said, that cadres who showed themselves in practice ideologically and politically unsuitable were again appointed to important posts in social life. He therefore advocated a re-examination of the cadre policy, especially at the university level where hostile activity was very pronounced. Recalling the unbecoming and servile attitude toward some Albanian delegations which visited Kosovo, Stozinic said that a too gracious stance was taken toward these phenomena.

As to the textbooks imported from Albania, he said that some were unacceptable not only from the ideological point of view but also from the scientific point of view. Some of these textbooks were 10 years old and out of date from the technical point of view. Two teachers even submitted reviews for over a hundred textbooks. Stozinic proposed that Yugoslav textbooks from other areas should be translated into the languages of the nations and nationalities.

The League of Communists membership, the working people and citizens of Pozarevac municipality reacted with indignation to the rampage of Albanian nationalists, Vlado Zelic said. The question most frequently asked at meetings is: Is it possible that this can happen there where unprecedented development has been achieved in the past 30 years? Many other questions too are being asked about the causes of these events, the activity of the League of Communists, the security service, the organs of social self-protection; questions to which answers are rightly demanded.

Zelic particularly advocated that the most urgent measures be taken to halt the exodus of the non-Albanian population from Kosovo and that leading provincial organs adopt a clear attitude on this.

Milorad Miscevic stressed that enemy activity had been beaten but that it was still appearing. The enemy would have inflicted considerably greater damage had not energetic action been forthcoming. For the League of Communists, Miscevic stressed, a lack of political vigilance is impermissible. This is a major error and great responsibility must be borne for this. There had been earlier indications that the enemy was on the offensive. There have been dangerous types of behavior and yielding of ground by the League of Communists. Therefore, Miscevic also criticized the security service and the assessments made on the eve of those very events which asserted that the political and security situation in Kosovo was stable.

What causes concern today is the large scale participation in the demonstrations. Evidently what is at stake is a well-organized enemy action because the young in schools had been indoctrinated from a very early age. Courageous and open communist criticism and self-criticism is a powerful weapon in the struggle against nationalism, Miscevic added, and went on to say that there are still in Kosovo people attempting to mute criticism, disclaim responsibility and the like.

Now is the time for the enemy to feel our resolve and action, and readiness to carry things through to their conclusion, he said.

Miscevic stressed--his words were greeted by stormy applause by those present--that the Yugoslav People's Army units who had been in Kosovo had acted decisively, in a dignified and disciplined manner and that they had fully carried out their task. On that occasion it was confirmed once again that the Yugoslav People's Army is a force which belongs equally to all nations and nationalities in our country. Some units which had been in Kosovo had up to 30 percent Albanians in their ranks. They carried out their tasks very responsibly and in an exemplary manner and directly contributed to the normalization and stabilization of the entire situation.

Slavko Zecevic advocated a re-examination of relations with Albania which, he said, are "without precedent" in Yugoslavia's relations with other countries. It is necessary, he also said, to re-examine the work of the security service in Kosovo because it too, just as we, has been basically surprised by the situation.

The existing practice of togetherness also demands a careful study, Zecevic believes. Only in this way can it be ascertained as to what extent relations inside the republic and the federation affect the existing relations in the province. In this way enemy activity and irredentism will also be combated.

Zecevic warned about not paying enough attention to the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. This, he said, has been greatly discussed only outside official structures. This problem should be looked at from the aspect of togetherness, without the disruption of intranational relations. The basic thing is to monitor the mood of the people. In opposing greater Albanian nationalism, we must not oppose greater Serbian nationalism too. What we need, he said, is a comprehensive analysis and we must not procrastinate and hesitate with it.

The case of Kosovo, Zecevic concluded, shows that problems in our country cannot be resolved in an isolated manner, that the League of Communists is responsible for the situation throughout the country. Now we can convince ourselves of the negative consequences of isolationist behavior. The struggle against any nationalism is the foremost task for all of us members of the League of Communists and of the LCY as a whole.

Markovic Speech

AU062151 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 May 81

[Report on speech by Dragoslav Markovic at the morning session of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in Belgrade on 6 May--with portions recorded]

[Text] Dragoslav Markovic pointed out that the LCY, the League of Communists of Serbia and primarily the League of Communists of Kosovo can draw lessons from the Kosovo events. It is time, Dragoslav Markovic said, to answer many open questions and the Kosovo communists have already taken the first steps in a good and instructive manner.

[Begin recording] However, there are certain matters that concern the League of Communists of Kosovo alone. It is said--and it should be so--that they also concern the League of Communists of Serbia. If the relations within the League of Communists of Serbia were based on the principles determined by the statute of the League of Communists of Serbia, that is, the principles of mutual cooperation and joint responsibility, the League of Communists of Serbia should feel very responsible indeed for what has taken place. But at this time the League of Communists of Serbia, together with the League of Communists of Kosovo, as well as the League of Communists of Vojvodina, must primarily feel responsible for the fact that correct relations, such as they should be, have not been built. It is necessary to call attention to the fact that, in responsibly analyzing the past events and determining their causes, we cannot proceed solely from the evaluations of individuals and solely from the evaluations about their possibly succumbing to nationalist influence. The old truth applies in this connection also: Matters are not as they are subjectively thought to be but are instead as they are objectively and as their objective consequences are. In other words, it is not only the question whether someone is subjectively a nationalist, but primarily a question whether his work objectively makes spreading nationalism possible, that is essential for political conclusions. [End recording]

Dragoslav Markovic then emphasized that now the primary task of the League of Communists is to correctly politically characterize the past events.

[Begin recording] Simultaneously with a positive appraisal of the present statements and actions, the question is now being asked in the LCY and especially in the League of Communists of Serbia why no such actions were taken and no such speeches made 10 or 5 or I do not know how many years ago. That is the expression of a critical attitude toward insufficient political activity in the preceding period. Unfortunately, it seems that in practice a crisis and a situation of excesses are needed to have some important problem solved and to advance. This is not good, even though it is probable that there are some objective reasons for it. In any event, what is involved in this connection are insufficiently developed self-managing relations, shortcomings in the functioning of the delegate system, an absence of democratic relations in the League of Communists and of democratic relations in society and so forth. In this respect the Kosovo events are not an exception.

But, nevertheless, if the correct conclusions were made and all the necessary consequences were taken on the basis of everything that has taken place, it would be possible to emerge from this crisis and from every other crisis that is successfully overcome, with a strengthened and stronger community and organization of the League of Communists. I am deeply convinced that the quick and strong intervention and the quick liquidation of disorders, revolt and counterrevolution have raised our reputation in the world and especially within the country. In the same way we can only gain if we do not hesitate in political characterizations and in political evaluations and actions and activities that must follow on the basis of the adopted ideological platform and action program.

The documents for this session and the statements speak about the differentiation in the League of Communists of Kosovo and in work and social organizations. This is very important because no political stabilization is possible without a differentiation on the basis of a clear ideological-political platform. Of course, participation or nonparticipation in and condemnation of, or expression of solidarity with the demonstrations and irredentist disorders are not a sufficient basis for differentiation. This is not the ideological platform on the basis of which it is possible to carry out a differentiation in the League of Communists of Kosovo. This means that a criterion and a platform must be defined. That platform is being created. [end recording]

Dragoslav Markovic also spoke about Albania's influence on the development of hostile activities in Kosovo.

[Begin recording] This is probably not the time for us to speak primarily about the enemies and the hostile activities originating in the People's Republic of Albania and about the ties between the internal and external enemies although it is impossible to perceive the whole of the matter without it. I think that this is the time to speak primarily about us, about the League of Communists, about the functioning and activity of organs and leaderships as a whole and primarily those in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

As a matter of fact, Albanian-Yugoslav relations are one of the matters on which I want to say something. Of course, there is a general and joint responsibility at an all-Yugoslav level for some of the mistakes committed in the past. However, it is the Kosovo comrades that are primarily responsible for that because many decisions were adopted on their recommendation and in many respects they were also responsible for implementing the adopted policy, implementing it with all shortcomings and negative consequences that have now found their expression. I think that the quality of the relations that we have maintained with Albania for a number of years now cannot withstand serious criticism. It was accepted for years that, instead of Yugoslav-Albanian relations, it was nearly exclusively relations between Albania and Kosovo that were developed. Let it be said that all the professors from Albania did not greet the students with the raised fist greeting, that they did not always begin their lectures with the slogan "we are all Albanians" and that all textbooks did not contain alien ideological views and pamphlet-like attacks against our order and system.

But, in the name of what principles was it consented and accepted that the cultural, sports, tourist and other relations were maintained exclusively within the relations between the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Albania, when instead that cooperation should have been developed and expanded within the framework of developing all Yugoslav-Albanian relations? The fact that recently the Albanian side--in quotations--"magnanimously" accepted cooperation with the Socialist Republics of Macedonia and Montenegro also with the explanation that members of the Albanian nationality live there also, does not change in principle the essence of these relations.

The generally valid principles cannot be abandoned in the name of a desire for good relations. One must be politically blind to accept the aspiration that, for the sake of good relations, there is no need to answer their ideological attacks, their nationalist attacks on our country. What must be done is to prevent the one-sided and one-way relations between Kosovo and Albania and to ensure that all relations will be Yugoslav-Albanian relations and that the arrangements for the relations between Kosovo and Albania will be made through Yugoslavia, that is, in accord and within the framework of the Yugoslav-Albanian conventions and agreements, as is normal in relations with all other countries.

The border policy and control must certainly be strengthened but there is no reason for us to shut ourselves in and to fear Albania, under conditions of [words indistinct] our constant ideological-political struggle and our opposition to their aspirations and their propaganda. But on the other hand I think that at this moment we must close ourselves in and thank them for their help with textbooks, professors and other professional workers and in the meantime sit down and evaluate well all that has happened and has existed and all that has been involved in this connection and so forth. [end recording]

Markovic also spoke on Kosovo's socioeconomic development and pointed out that it was a great mistake that what Yugoslavia has done for the province's development has not been emphasized in Kosovo.

[Begin recording] I want to stress that Kosovo's further development is very important and that it must continue to be a primary task. But in this connection the tendencies of autarchy must be overcome and the process of association of labor and pooling of resources must be simultaneously developed. That should result in a more economic use of the allotted resources, in creasing a more complete long-term development concept, in better use of existing facilities, in a better engagement of cadres and science, in closer mutual association and ties in strengthening the unity within the Yugoslav community. [end recording]

Dragoslav Markovic further spoke on the constitutional order of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and on certain interpretations of the autonomy and position of the provinces.

[Begin recording] It is precisely the composite organization of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in addition to everything else, that opens up possibilities of various political inconsistencies and inclinations to compromises of all kinds and further makes it possible to continue to avoid--because of their sensitivity--the topics of appropriately developing and defining the constitutional character of these relations and to favor agreements, concessions and delays, something that at times may provide a temporary solution but that, as a long-term orientation, inevitably leads to a crisis.

The question of the republic and autonomy has not been sufficiently elaborated either theoretically or in practice, that is, in the interpretation and implementation of the existing constitutional solutions. Whenever it is discussed, it is said that the Constitution is questioned. No, what is involved is interpreting the constitutional provisions and implementing the existing constitutional solutions.

It is characteristic that even today when the leading people in Kosovo--and I even understand the existing pressure on them from a certain escalation of the political mood and the euphoria that has been created--oppose and dispute the hostile slogan demanding a republic. They dispute it with arguments and with the view that autonomous units are essentially the same as the republics. This is not true. The socialist autonomous provinces are not the same as the republics. In practice they indeed are in many respects, but under the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia they cannot be the same. Of course, the strengthening and expansion of the autonomy of the socialist autonomous provinces, including thereby the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, did not lead to an escalation of nationalism. On the contrary, it is natural to expect that strengthening and expanding autonomy would cut the roots from under greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

The reason that this is not so and that the strengthening and expansion of the autonomy of the socialist autonomous provinces, including thereby also the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, were not simultaneously accompanied by and resulted in the struggle to cut the roots from under Albanian nationalism must be sought in a wrong concept of autonomy and in an aspiration--contrary to the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia--to make the Socialist Autonomous province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo equal to a republic, something that led to an escalation of Albanian nationalism and to creating a social ground for some kind of illusions, and consequently also discontent even among the honest strata of members of the Albanian nationality.

How, on the other hand, can these views that aspire to diminsh the significance of the constitutional order of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the structure within that republic and replace the existing [word indistinct], be brought into accord with an extremely restrictive approach to implementing the Constitution as regards building unified and joint functions within the republic on the basis of adopted unity and strengthening unity? With a constant escalation of demands to transfer jurisdiction to the socialist autonomous provinces in the spheres of citizenship, security, statistics, laws on plans or, regarding the League of Communists and the relations within it, with the demands that the provincial committees be called central committees, that the provincial conferences be called congresses of the League of Communists and so forth.

It seems that it can be said that the growth of nationalist awareness, which has led to creating a nationalist euphoria, has frequently and subconsciously oriented the feelings, concepts and mental state in the direction of creating a complex of guilt in relation to the entire League of Communists of Serbia because of the occurrences of deformities and deviations from the line that have taken place at the individual stages of development. We must clear up these issues. They cannot be a taboo topic. We can and must seriously and responsibly work on and discuss all issues and find solutions through a process. [end recording]

Dragoslav Markovic also spoke about the question of information on Kosovo events.

[Begin recording] In almost all communities there is a tendency at times to hide or cover up some of their shortcomings and problems, and to refrain from informing others about them because it is believed that the problems will be resolved without outside help. But what is impermissible is the fact that, for instance, it is learned only now. After a delay of several months, that there were even occurrences--true, they were individual occurrences but even as an isolated occurrence it gives food for thought--where requests by cultural groups from Albania to remove Tito's picture were granted so that these groups would consent to give their performance.

When such a thing happens in a single instance, all of Yugoslavia must be alarmed and the news must be flashed by teleprinter and telegram and so forth.

No other way is possible in such a case. These are matters for which one must accept responsibility. I think we must get rid of this solving of our problems by ourselves, without asking for help and without informing others. Sometimes matters assume such proportions that the question of an intentional coverup of some facts may be posed.

In our present situation and in the preceding period, much disinformation and false news has been spread. However, one must always ask why such things happen and when do they happen. Of course, they always happen through the strivings of the enemy and the enemy forces. However, these strivings find fertile ground always when we do not provide, in good time, the proper answers to questions.

One such question, for instance, is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Of course we must bear in mind that we are a developing country, that Kosovo is a region with a very tempestuous development where population migration is a natural occurrence. You will allow, however, that it is not natural that the direction of the migration flow is to such a great extent unbalanced, and that it predominantly involves Serbs and Montenegrins. It is characteristic that a large number of peasants, who otherwise are the least mobile, are also emigrating; in various ways they are disposing of their land in Kosovo and buying land in other places in Serbia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia.

These occurrences have been passed over facilely, especially by organs and organizations in Kosovo. Now one talks about it with more data and more facts. I think it would be very dangerous for this process to continue. And not only that: I think that a responsible commission must examine retroactively all the cases, all the disputed cases, all the cases that came to courts, all the cases of complaints, so that an answer is obtained to this question, too. [end recording]

Dragoslav Markovic also spoke about national equality and about life in a multinational community, saying that the occurrence of one nationalism does not justify the occurrence of another nationalism. Markovic then pointed out that a great majority of Albanians in Kosovo were not involved in hostile actions, and that workers in many work organizations opposed the demonstrators.

Dragoslav Markovic then said:

[Begin recording] I think that it is not without importance to point out the fact that when one speaks about shortcomings in the work of the provincial committee and the League of Communists in Kosovo, and about the shortcomings of self-management organs, one must not lose sight of the fact that those in the provincial committee, in the Assembly and in the Executive Council were not exclusively Albanians and Albanian communists, but were also Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and others, and that the responsibility for shortcomings, omissions and work is not the responsibility of the Albanian communists but of the leadership in Kosovo. I think that this, too, is of very great importance for the help that the LCY and League of Communists of Serbia must extend in this situation to comrades in Kosovo.

I think that very important tasks face the communists of Serbia and the communists of the other peoples of Yugoslavia. A long, complex struggle is to be waged by the League of Communists of Kosovo and in the League of Communists of Kosovo for overcoming the Albanian nationalist consciousness that has been created. This struggle must not be accompanied by sectarianism and narrowmindedness. If it were, it would be condemned to failure from the beginning, particularly regarding the deceived young people. For this very reason it must be incessant, constant, designed to help and contribute to an understanding and comprehension of the whole complex of tasks and responsibilities. In this respect the League of Communists of Kosovo must obtain the help and support of all the communists of Yugoslavia, and especially of the League of Communists of Serbia. [end recording]

Bakali Resigns

LD061506 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic, the chairman of today's League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee session, read a letter from Mahmut Bakali which contains the request that he be released from his duties as a member of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee. Since the president of the provincial committee is automatically a member of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee, yesterday's election of a new president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo meant that Mahmut Bakali's membership in the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee had come to an end.

Galovic Concluding Speech

AU071218 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 May 81

[Unattributed report on the closing session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee plenary session in Belgrade on 6 May]

[Text] At the proposal of Spiro Galovic, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia has adopted the introductory report by Tihomir Vlaskalic, president of the Central Committee. It was concluded that on the basis of the report and discussion at the session, as well as on the basis of tomorrow's session of the LCY Central Committee, the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee will prepare and adopt an operative program of action and measures to overcome the situation in Kosovo. The Presidium will report to the Central Committtee on the realization of the program. The report, materials and speeches made at the session today will be printed and published in the series "The Documents of the League of Communists of Serbia."

In his concluding speech, Spiro Galovic pointed out that after yesterday's session of the Kosovo Provincial Committee and today's session of the republican Central Committee, the communists were closer to an insight into what had happened and to a certain extent is still happening in Kosovo, as well as to comprehending the causes of these events. We are also closer to comprehending the responsibility of the communists for what has happened and comprehending the forthcoming tasks, in which responsibility should not be attached solely to League of Communists organs but also to state and other organs.

In realizing the forthcoming tasks, a much closer cooperation between the provincial and republican Central Committee of the League of Communists is necessary, for there have been many errors in this in the past. The Serbian communists fully support the spirit of criticism displayed at the session of the provincial committee, and they point out that only such spirit can lead to constructive action, for which the League of Communists of Kosovo has sufficient strength, Spiro Galovic said in conclusion.

MORE ON DRAGOSAVAC SPEECH AT KOSOVO LC PLENUM

AU061551 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 5 May 81

[Report on speech by Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, in Pristina on 5 May]

[Text] Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also took part in the discussion at today's session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

Dusan Dragosavac pointed out in the beginning that the discussion at the session and the introductory report contain a positive approach, for they tend to stimulate further political action in mastering the problem of nationalism, which is very important.

It seems to me, Dragosavac said, that it is very important that a common assessment (?of the nature of the problem) prevails. When I say common, I do not think that variations in approaches and in emphasis are absent in our discussion; they are normal. It is obvious that deep thought is given to problems so that a correct (?solution) may be reached.

Dragosavac further said that [several words indistinct] nationalism and irredentism, because we lost sight of something that is the essence of (?our development, which is to say that) we are still (?a class society), that we are a multinational and relatively undeveloped society with large differences in productivity and other relevant elements with which the overall socioeconomic development is measured, (?and that they) will continue to condition (?the forms of our struggle).

Assessing that the big results achieved (?in building socialism in Kosovo) have misled us, Dragosavac pointed out that (?we need not be ashamed) of the results, but he added that our socialism with all its achievements, bearing in mind the world situation, has not yet reached the stage where it would reproduce by itself (?socialist relations and beliefs). On the contrary, we must continue to be aware that various national problems exist in our society, (?as Yugoslavia is) a multinational country. Because we are still a class society, class problems also exist, and there exist differences in production forces, production relations, productivity of labor and so forth.

On the other hand, precisely because we are a multinational community, we must strengthen and further develop brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities. You rightly spoke about it today a good deal, in view of the fact that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is a multinational community, just as is Serbia together with Kosovo and as Yugoslavia, too, is a multinational community. We must all bear this in mind always, for in a multinational community various social problems (?may appear as) national problems and may grow into nationalism if the subjective socialist forces are not up to their historical task, the historical interests of the workers class and the program and current tasks of the League of Communists

In this connection Dragosavac stressed that our socialist forces lost sight of these elements during a rather long period. We must be aware that as long as nations exist, it will be necessary to struggle for brotherhood and unity in all fields of social work, this being the essence of the struggle against nationalism.

We had nationalisms on earlier occasions, too, Dragosavac said. And there will also be such occurrences in the future. However, the problem is that earlier and now here, too, we allowed the enemy to (?express himself) and to act in an organized fashion because of our lack of vigilance and organization.

In this context, Dragosavac pointed out not only the existence of the vestiges of the old but also their reproduction, as well as bureaucratism and technocracy, because of which nationalism is also penetrating the League of Communists, particularly when the League of Communists neglects its workers and class essence and its constant task to strengthen brotherhood and unity.

We must bear in mind that various clericalisms linked with nationalism on anticommunist positions are active in our country, Dragosavac stressed. Therefore our political struggle must be not only incessant but also subtle. Dragosavac pointed out that it must not be forgotten on this occasion in Kosovo, as well in the LCY as a whole, that at this moment we are experiencing a certain check to the development of self-management and that for that reason, too, we have many economic problems.

At the same time, a deep political and economic crisis exists in the world.

Therefore our subjective forces, above all the League of Communists, cannot behave as if we had created an exceptionally high level of socialism and socialist consciousness and had overcome the remnants of class society and as if only socialism, equality among countries and peoples and unity in the struggle for peace existed all over the world. We often do not take the situation in the present world into account.

As to our domestic activities, we must link political work with practice and maintain contact with the working people, all the people. That is needed if we are to work even more efficiently. For if we are n efficient and we do not work, external and internal enemies may become active in so communities. Regardless of the problems that you talked about today and which note to be great, there is no doubt that the League of Communists will succeed in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia to master these and other difficulties if we are consistent (?in building) our socialism and our revolution.

Therefore we must strengthen our sociopolitical acitivites, systematically unmask the enemy and show him, not only tell him, that nobody can dictate the borders between our republics and provinces, nor those of Yugoslavia. We must show how reactionary the slogan about a great "Albania's" a slogan which--as you noted again today--is unfortunately jointly advocated by the leadership of the AWP and the Albanian fascists among the emigres. On these questions they found themselves in the same boat.

Having said that with further internal development we will prevent the activities of the external and internal enemies, Dragosavac advocated the abolition of some disproportions in the building of society. He particularly pointed out a large disproportion in Kosovo and in all of Yugoslavia, too. It is the inadequate system of education, and especially of secondary and higher education.

It seems to me, Dragosavac said, that it is increasingly becoming an economic, social and political problem. We lack an orientation to having education and social edification be exclusively a function of production, and according to an outdated logic one strives to complete some school in order to become a gentleman. Therefore we are now in a situation of having surpluses of certain types of cadres that do not want to go into production, and at the same time we have a shortage of skilled and other workers in material production. If we allowed things to run in this way, our national income could not support it even if our income were three times as large as it is. We often speak about a school reform, but this is more a slogan than practice. Regarded in the light of these recent events in Kosovo, we must correct this situation as soon as possible.

Further in his speech, Dragosavac said that it was important to develop criticism and self-criticism and that it is good that this is finding expression at this plenum. At one stage, he added, petit bourgeois ideology began to come to the fore in our country, and people in their own yard, one may say, saw everything (?without blemish) and only saw the problems of other people. I think that this makes it difficult for everyone successfully to see the problems in his own community.

Dragosavac laid stress on our internal development, but at the same time he emphasized that in developing our socialism, we must never lose sight of our principled position in international relations. This position is not to the liking of various reactionary forces. He added that some people want to destabilize Yugoslavia so that its influence in the world and its struggle against injustice in international relations may weaken. Therefore our internal firmness is at the same time our international obligation as a contribution to freedom and equality in the world.

Speaking about relations with Albania, Dragosavac pointed out that regardless of what Albania has been and is doing, we must for reasons of principle, take into account that it is our neighbor. However, he added, as much as we may be interested in cooperation on an equal basis with all countries, including our neighbors, I think that it is essential to draw a lesson from our cooperation with Albania so far, and that this cooperation should be developed exclusively on a reciprocal basis. One deviated from this basis and control was allowed to slip away, which resulted in certain people from Albania behaving here as if they were in their fief.

In the conclusion of his speech Dragosavac pointed out that it is good that it was shown at this plenum again that the League of Communists, together with all the organized socialist forces, is waging an uncompromising struggle against nationalism. He also advocated aid to misguided young individuals, but he stressed that there is no place for compromise with nationalism and nationalists in the League of Communists.

I am convinced, Dragosavac said in conclusion, that instructed by this experience, with the help of all the communists and working people of Yugoslavia you will successfully master these and other problems and develop socialist self-management and brotherhood and unity of equal peoples and nationalities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

WALDHEIM ARRIVES IN BELGRADE, MET BY VRHOVEC

LD071040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 7 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 May (TANJUG)--UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim arrived in Belgrade this morning on a 1-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Kurt Waldheim and his associates were welcomed at Belgrade airport by Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and officials of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Talks between the UN secretary general and his host, the federal secretary for foreign affairs, in which there will be a broad exchange of views on topical international political and economic issues, will begin at about noon.

INFORMATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH ALGERIA

LD070902 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 7 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--A two-year programme for Yugoslav-Algerian cooperation in the field of information was signed in Belgrade today. The agreement was signed by the Yugoslav and Algerian ministers of information, Ismailj Bajra and Boualem Bessaiah respectively. The programme provides among other things, for cooperation between news agencies, radio and TV institutions, the press, newspaper, film and publishing organizations of the two countries. The Algerian minister was received today also by member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Dobroslav Culafic. At the talks Culafic and Bessaiah considered cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the National Liberation Front of Algeria, as well as international and internal activities the two parties.

MIJATOVIC CHAIRS NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL SESSION

LD071031 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] Belgrade, 6 May (TANJUG)--A session of the National Defense Council of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today. The meeting was chaired by Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency.

The session discussed topical issues of implementing the cadre policy in the Yugoslav People's Army. The council approved the assessments of and backed the methods being used to resolve some questions on the status of officers and civilian personnel in the service of the Yugoslav People's Army, the development of the service, the living standard of members of the Yugoslav People's Army and other issues.

The council pointed out the need for the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the socialist republics and provinces to take relevant measures regarding the uniform response of young people for military schools.

The council discussed the situation and the problems of communications in the SFRY from the point of view of defense and endorsed the proposal for their further development.

Other issues in the sphere of national defense were also discussed by the council.

PLANINC VIEWS CONFLICTS BETWEEN NATIONALITIES

LD070604 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 6 May 81

[TEXT] Zagreb, 6 May (TANJUG)-- A senior Yugoslav functionary today warned of a danger of some Yugoslav republics gaining in strength as "states."

Milka Planinc, the president of the League of Communists of Croatia Central Committee, said that the "the substitution of federal centralism with the strengthening of republican monopoly" was in direct clash with the development of self-management in Yugoslavia. Planinc also said that such tendencies lead to conflicts among nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

She made these statements at a meeting held in Zagreb to mark the 40th anniversary of a Yugoslav communist leaders' consultation which agreed on preparation for an uprising against the Fascist occupation forces and on the beginning of a social revolution.

Speaking of the recent unrests in the province of Kosovo, Planinc emphasized the importance of efficacy of the system of social self-protection in Yugoslavia. Under this system, each factory, local neighbourhood community, school and other institutions, apart from the state security organs, takes care of law and order.

There is a confidence in the ability of the socialist and self-management forces in Kosovo to overcome the current problems which, she said, "encroach upon the fundamental, vital interests of all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia." Attacks from within on the Yugoslav system, stressed Planinc, "are always along the lines of, and most often directly connected with, the interests of outside factors", in destabilizing Yugoslavia and creating pretexts for outside interference and the imposition of foreign strategic interests.

RAILROAD ACCIDENT KILLS 15 WORKERS IN KOSOVO

AU061624 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 6 May 81

[Text] At 1350 [1250 GMT] today on the railroad line between the Metohija and Volujak railroad stations [in Kosovo] freight train No 8343 crashed into a rail car carrying 15 workers. All 15 workers were killed. An investigation is in progress. Immediately after the accident Bahri Oruci, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, visited the place of the accident.

MACEDONIA'S RAMADANI URGES UNITY, DEVELOPMENT

LD021332 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 2 May 81

[Text] Skopje, 2 May (TANJUG)--The May Day issue of NOVA MAKEDONIA carriers an interview with Hisen Ramadani, vice president of the Executive Council of Macedonia, entitled "Development and togetherness". The occasion was the laying of the cornerstone for the first village factory in Macedonia in the village of Pirok near Tetovo. It also provided an opportunity for a broader discussion on the development of the Polog region, which comprises the municipalities of Tetovo and Gostivar, populated by the largest number of members of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities in Macedonia.

Stressing that Macedonia is one of the insufficiently developed republics and provinces, Ramadani said that the republic's rate of development was at least 20 percent below the Yugoslav average. The insufficiently developed areas inside the republic should also develop in keeping with this principle and at the same rate. Bearing in mind the fact that the largest part of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities live in municipalities officially rated as insufficently developed, this means that their development will be dynamic in the future as well.

Speaking more extensively about development problems, Hisen Ramadani went on to stress that in our system there are no "minorities" and no "majorities" but that we have nations and nationalities united on an equal footing and through self-managing relations, within the framework of which social groups, nations and nationalities and workers and citizens control their present and their future. The position of a nation or nationality in a society based on togetherness primarily depends on man's position in production and reproduction. The extent of the influence exercised by the individual working man in social and production relations determines the extent of his ability to realize his needs and interests as a social group, as a nation or nationality.

Consequently, Ramadani said in conclusion, our prospects and further development depend completely on the ideopolitical, social and economic unity of our nations and nationalities. This unity and development have always been and continue to be a thorn in the side of all the reactionary forces of the word. Hisen Ramadani went on to comment extensively on the recent events in Kosovo, stressing that the Albanians in Yugoslavia had been able to achieve and were able to maintain their rapid and revolutionary development only on the basis of the policy of the LCY, with their own work and orientation and with support from all the nations and nationalities of our country. This orientation and the resolve to carry out the policy of the LCY has been and remains the guarantee of their development and of the support of others for them.

BRIEFS

MORE ON NATIONAL CENSUS--Belgrade, 30 Apr (TANJUG)--According to initial results of the population census carried out in the first half of this month Yugoslavia has 22,352,162 inhabitants. The number of inhabitants increased by 1,830,000 over the last decade. Yugoslavs temporarily employed abroad (mostly in West European countries) number 577,648 or nearly 100,000 less than 10 years ago. The census encompassed 6,185,896 households, or 15 percent more than the 1971 census. [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 30 Apr 81 LD]

MORE ON KOSOVO CENSUS--Pristina, 30 Apr (TANJUG)--The Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has a population of 1,584,558. This is 27 percent more than 10 years ago. This information was presented at today's session of the Executive Council of Kosovo, which discussed the data supplied by the census carried out in the province 1-25 April this year. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 30 Apr 81 LD]